National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors

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Selections.

From the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, Feb 17.

THE SPRINGFIELD RIOTS

GEORGE THOMPSON, THE ENGLISH ABOLITIONIST, AND JOHN BULL, HUNG IN EFFIGY.

The anticipated presence of the Englishman Thompson, in our midst, to lecture upon American Slavery, has caused considerable feeling among a large portion of our citizens. The developements of Saturday and Sunday, and what we learn in regard to those who either countenanced or participated in them, leave no room in our mind to doubt that, if Mr. Thompson attempts to fulfil the engagement his friends have made for him, there will be a very serious disturbance. We should deeply regret such an occurrence, because it would be subversive of those principles of law and order that are at once the foundation and the safeguard of a Republican Government; because a gross violation of the free speech of which we boast as one of the greatest liberties guaranteed by our Constitution, because disgraceful to our town and community; and because it would tend greatly to assist Mr. Thompson and his American associates, in their crusade against our Constitution and our Government. We fully believe, as we have already said, that they court nothing so much as persecution, and fear nothing so greatly as silent contempt. Empty seats and bare walls at Hampden Hall will be considered a far greater misfortune than a thousand yelling, screeching, hissing, hooting enemies. Yet they are more likely now to be treated to the latter than left to the former.

There was an informal meeting of a number of respectable citizens, at the Union House, on Saturday evening, and after some conversation it was thought best that Mr. Thompson should be waited upon by a delegation of those present, after his arrival to-day, and fully informed of the state of feeling among our people, and the probable consequences of an attempt to speak.

On Sunday morning, evidences of the feeling referred to exhibited themselves. George Thompson and John Bull were hung in effigy from one of the large trees on Court Square. Well dressed figures of men, labelled in large letters with those names, were suspended, after the manner of culprits from the gallows, high upon one of the main branches. Here they dangled conspicuously until noon, when Sheriff Rice, with some assistance, cut them down, and conveyed the stuffed gentlemen away. We understand the work of putting them up was done about one o'clock at night, and that a large body of men were present as executors or witnesses of the operation. Who they were, we are not informed. During the night also, copies of the inflammatory handbill following, were posted up in great numbers in all parts of the town:

Regulators attention!—Men of Hampden! are you going to allow an English serf to come among you and create a civil war, by continuing agitation on a question now happily disposed of by our Government? Are you going to allow our great Republic, that affords a home to the oppressed—bread for the hungry of the world—to be endangered by the machinations of a British spy? Do you not know that the revolutions that have shaken Europe for the last fifty years, have been caused by the example set, of the capability of self-government, by the people of the United States? Do you not know that it is for the interest of the despots of Europe, that the influence of this bright example should be destroyed? and that while an attempt upon our freedom, by the bayonet, would excite the sympathy of the people of the whole world and thus defeat their object, a civil war would demonstrate that the people are not capable of self-government, and thus strengthen the power of tyrants? Is it rational, is it reasonable, is it even plausible, that George Thompson, a member of that very British Parliament whose laws have placed the masses of the English and Irish people in a position of such want and oppression, that they would gladly exchange their lot for the comparative freedom of the negro slave of the South, can be aught but a paid emissary and spy of England? But a few months since, we were sending ship-loads of food to his starving countrymen, for whom he was then legislating; and will you now allow him to repay this boon by treachery—by turning a brother's knife against a brother's bosom? Americans! Countrymen of the murdered Emmet, of Mitchel, of O'Brien! sons of down trodden and crushed Ireland, turn out, and drive this miscreant from our soil, for your brother's blood cries against him for vengeance! Men of Hampden, turn out to a man, and teach Britain that the worst use to which she can put one of her slave-drivers, is to send him here to scheme and plot. Rally, every man, and give this British emissary a reception that will teach a new lesson to British statesmen.

Fellow-citizens, be at your posts at Hampden Hall, at 6 o'clock, on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday evenings. The moral strength of the community is with us; let the physical be present. Let your cry be "America, and a Home for All!!" Union and Vigilance against the machinations of despots.

"Lexington."

Most of these handbills were pulled down or defaced in a few hours. Upon the trunk of the tree on which the effigies were hung, there were also pasted written death-warrants, setting forth the character of Thompson and Bull aforesaid, the history of their crimes, and the causes for the punishment thus inflicted upon them. What is to be the result another day will determine. We have no idea that Thompson, Garrison & Co. will voluntarily withdraw from the field. Nothing short of the fear of severe personal injury, which we do not suppose any one proposes to visit them with, would induce them to do so. It is not impossible that the owner of the Hall will close it against them for fear of injury to his property from the threatened mob. If the meeting goes on, nothing but the most prompt, energetic, and thorough action on the part of the authorities, can secure to Mr. Thompson a hearing. It is unquestionably their duty to take such action, though such is the prevailing feeling against our English visitor, that it is doubtful whether a sufficient constabulary force can be readily raised. We pray, however, that the event may be ordered in a manner not unfavorable to the public morals or the credit of the town. We as fully appreciate, as anybody, the impudence of George Thompson's conduct; but we cannot countenance or consent to any other treatment of him but a most severe letting alone.

We understand that the selectmen have a meeting to-day to take some action to preserve peace.

PRESIDENT FILLMORE AND THE CONSTITUTION DENOUNCED—THOMPSON AGAIN BURNT IN EFFIGY—SERENADE OF THE NEGROES.

[From the Springfield Republican, Feb. 19.]

It was confidently stated that Mr. Thompson was desirous of leaving town on Tuesday morning; but if so, his friends overcame his wishes and induced him to remain. No more suitable place offering for him and his Boston associates to speak in, a small room on Sanford street, known as Dwight's Hall, was obtained. Here, at about 10 o'clock, Mr. Thompson and his friends repaired, and organized, and continued a meeting in comparative quiet till near 1 o'clock. The sheriff of the county was present during most of the forenoon, to preserve order; but no breach of the peace was attempted, and there was but little excitement.

The hall was not filled, there being probably at no time more than two hundred persons present, including negroes and whites, men, women and children, and the two latter classes certainly embraced a large portion of the audience. This small number was doubtless owing, in part at least, to the want of any previous notice of the place of meeting.

Mr. Phillips introduced Mr. Thompson, who, in a speech of considerable length, reviewed the history of this excitement, as far as known to him, and also the history of his own life. He appeared to speak with great ease, and there was running through all his remarks a cutting vein of sarcasm, at times giving way to passages of great eloquence. He exclaimed against the "mob spirit," and said that if this town were in Great Britain, he would devote his life to the establishment of the right to speak. The meanest caitiff in the country, when arraigned in court, does not receive sentence, nor is hanged in effigy or in person, till he has had an opportunity to speak, and the dastards who could raise, by anticipation, a mob against a man whose mouth they never heard opened, were men on whom the spirit of liberty frowns. He went on to describe his seeing a notice of the hanging in effigy in a Providence paper, "a glorious achievement, by whom accomplished no one knows," and he distinctly charged the printing of the inflammatory hand bill, of Sunday, upon a certain office where a newspaper is also printed which this morning preaches a sermon in favor of obedience to the law. [He was here understood to mean the *Republican*.] The infamy of the bonfires, &c., did not attach to him, but to Springfield.

He then went on to describe, at considerable length, his interview with the gentlemen who waited upon him, on Monday, to inform him of the state of things, stating that he asked them if they intended to advocate the withdrawal of all missionaries from foreign countries; that he asserted his republicanism; that he told them that if any one did not wish to hear him he could stay away, and much more to the same purpose. While he was thus speaking some one put his foot through the ceiling above, and cried out, "Put the d—d Englishman out." Mr. Thompson then went on to charge that the mob was manufactured. "as much as the coat on my back, and some of you know the tailors and the material it was made of—tar and rum." For the proof of his right to speak here on Slavery, he referred them to three millions of slaves, to the "panting fugitive, whom Millard Fillmore, and both houses of Congress and their commissioners, and the parsons of the country, are all hunting. All these will say I have something to do here. Why! there isn't a rood of earth on the globe that is not more sanctified by the spirit of liberty than republican America!"

The remainder of his remarks were occupied by a vindication of his conduct towards Ireland, and by denunciations of the committee who called upon him on Monday, and others. "Nothing is contraband in this country but truth and honesty," said he, after comparing his position with that of Jenny Lind. Union meetings, and even spiritual knockings. received a few side "raps," the latter probably for the benefit of our friend Elmer, "while minute philosophers, editors of little papers without ideas in their brains," received a little attention.

The meeting then closed. There was a larger and more respectable audience in the afternoon, including quite a number of ladies.

The following is an official copy of the resolutions adopted at the two meetings. The record says they were adopted with almost entire unanimity:

Resolved, That no man and no party shall dictate who shall speak, and what shall be spoken to us.

Resolved, That in welcoming George Thompson to Springfield, we exercise our inalienable and legal right to select our speakers; and in inviting him to address us on the subject of Slavery, we assert our equally inalienable and legal right to discuss what subjects we choose.

Resolved, That the Selectmen of Springfield, in refusing (with one honorable exception) to protect our meeting, were grossly ignorant of their duty, or shamefully recreant to it.

Resolved, That in welcoming George Thompson to Springfield, we welcome him as the friend of man, of every country and every race, the eloquent and disinterested advocate of the rights of every class, the indefatigable foe of all oppression, and the friend of free thought, free speech, and free men, the world over.

Resolved, That we rejoice with our whole hearts at the recent rescue of a man claimed as a slave in Boston, as an act just and merciful towards man, and well pleasing in the sight of God.

Resolved, That we hope that this act will grow into a perpetual precedent, and that, law or no law, constitution or no constitution, Union or no Union, the hospitality of Massachusetts will never be violated by the deliverance of any fugitive from oppression to his tyrant again.

Resolved, That the thanks of every friend of freedom of speech is due to Mr. Mills, he being the only man in Springfield, among the numerous owners and lessees of public rooms, who have dared to open a hall for the vindication of free speech, attacked in the person of George Thompson.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the time will soon come when those who instigated the mob, and the misguided men who composed it, shall, when they stand before a mirror, see a man whom they are ashamed of, and will regret their ignorance of the true character of George Thompson.

There was no attempt made to continue the speaking in the evening. Had there been, it (the speaking) would have been prevented by the populace, who were more excited and indignant against Thompson and his associates than before their meetings of Tuesday. The abuse and misrepresentations of our citizens which they had uttered, had disgusted many who before were strenuous in upholding them, while they put fresh weapons in the hands of those who were determined to insult and mob them. A larger crowd of people than that of the night before assembled in front of Hampden House, early in the evening, and similar scenes were enacted. Music, bonfires, crackers, cheers and screechings, alternately or together, kept up the row for an hour or two. No overt act of violence was attempted, and no arrests were made or attempted. At 8 o'clock, Mr. Thompson, was burnt in effigy, in front of his rooms at the Hampden, amid the cheers and gibes of the crowd. At 9 o'clock quiet was restored, and the populace gradually retired to their homes.

It is understood that Mr. Thompson leaves town for New York State (where he has an engagement to lecture) this morning.

We learn that while the excitement was at its height, last evening, several stones were thrown through the windows into the room occupied by Mr. Thompson, Rev. Dr. Osgood was present, and one of the missiles came near hitting him. At about midnight, a band of negroes serenaded our English visiter with instruments and vocal music. We do not precisely comprehend whether it was intended as an insult or compliment; but it was probably the former.

From the Boston Daily Mail.

THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE EXCITEMENT IN BOSTON.

Full Particulars of the late Rescue of a Fugitive Slave by a Mob.

Our city, hitherto known for its respect and obedience to constitutional law, was on Saturday the scene of mob violence and open resistance, on the part of the colored population, to the Fugitive Slave law, by the assertion of the so called "higher law" of treason.

On Friday Mr. John Caphart, a citizen of Norfolk, Va., by virtue of a power of attorney from Mr. John De Bree, a purser of the U. S. Navy residing at Norfolk, appeared before George T. Curtis, Esq. one of the U. S. Commissioners, and made a formal written claim for the arrest and extradition of an alleged fugitive slave known by the name of "Shadrach," to his owner Mr. De Bree, and by the name of "Fred." or "Frederick Wilkins" to his present employer at Taft's Coffee House. In consequence of this, a warrant was granted to the claimant for his appearance before the Commissioner at the U. S. Circuit Court room, forthwith, and by his attorney, Mr. Seth J. Thomas, was placed in the hands of Patrick Riley, U. S. Deputy Marshal, which was served upon the alleged slave at 11 o'clock A. M. on Saturday, by Mr. Riley, assisted by a person employed in the U. S. Marshal's office, in the following manner:—They proceeded to the Cornhill Coffee House, situated on the corner of Court avenue, not 300 yards from the court house, and called for a breakfast. They were served by Frederick, who is employed in this restaurant as a waiter. They immediately told him that they had got a warrant against him and wanted him to go with them to the court house. He inquired what the warrant was for, and was told that he would see when he arrived at the court house. He then asked to put on his coat, but was told that he could bring it with him and put it on while going to the court house. The officers, however, took him without it, and he appeared in the U. S. Court room with his linen apron on, when the Commissioner presently appeared. At the request of Frederick, Marcus Morton, Jr., an attorney, was immediately sent for and appeared, and soon after John G. King, Ellis G. Loring, Charles List, S. E. Sewall and Charles G. Davis, of the "Committee of Safety," came in and spoke with "Shadrach," and volunteered their services in his defence.

Seth J. Thomas appeared on behalf of the claimant. The arrest was soon reported in Brattle street, among the colored dealers in second-hand clothing, and other colored people occupied at no great distance from the court house; and in the space of thirty minutes from one hundred to one hundred and fifty of them had crowded into the court room, together with some fifty white persons, chiefly reporters, lawyers, free soil agitators and others. The prisoner was placed in the bar usually occupied by prisoners, with an officer at each side of him, and the Commissioner took his seat upon the Judge's bench. After some preliminary conversation, it was arranged that Mr. Sewall and Mr. Ellis Gray Loring should appear as counsel for the slave.

The Commissioner (addressing Mr. Sewall)—The question which requires immediate determination is, whether the hearing shall proceed now, or whether you wish for time.

Mr. Sewall—We have never heard of this case until within fifteen minutes, and we wish for a delay until Tuesday, at 10 o'clock, to make the necessary preparation.

Mr. Thomas, (counsel for the claimant)—We wish for as short a time as is compatible with the interests of justice. There is nothing in the case but a question of identity.

Mr. Sewall—The question of identity is obviously one in which no man ought to be called to meet so suddenly. Is it just, is it right, that we should be so called?

The Commissioner—There can be no question that you are entitled to a reasonable time, Mr. Sewall. The sole question is, what is reasonable time, under all the circumstances. The statute directs that the hearing shall be "summary." I do not consider this to mean that the hearing shall proceed on the instant after the arrest is made. It means, in my judgment, that there shall be no unreasonable delay, and that other business shall not be allowed to cause delay. But it cannot mean, that the party is not to be allowed opportunity for preparation to meet the case. Under all the circumstances, considering the day on which the arrest has been made (Saturday) and the hour of the day, (one o'clock) and considering that it is a question of identity, I think a postponement to Tuesday is not unreasonable.

Mr. Loring—We know nothing of the case at present, and we may desire a further postponement.

The Commissioner—I shall hold the defendant to answer the case of the claimant on Tuesday, and any further postponement will be granted only for cause shown on affidavit.

Mr. Loring—We mean to be ready to go on, on Tuesday, in good faith; and shall only ask for further delay for cause. We wish now, however, to have an order made that the claimant's documentary evidence should be exhibited to us.

The Commissioner—That can be arranged between the counsel.

Mr. Loring—I do not know that it can. We are not aware what the nature of the proof is.

The Commissioner—I can make no order on the subject.

Mr. Thomas—I will save all question about it by reading the documentary evidence now, which I intend to offer.

Mr. Thomas then proceeded to read the papers, which were of the following purport:—

The claim of John Caphart for the restoration of Shadrach to the service of his master and owner, by virtue of a power of Attorney, and sworn to, on the 14th instant, before Commissioner Curtis.

A certification under seal of Richard H. Baker, Judge of the Circuit Court of the city of Norfolk and State of Virginia, that on the 11th of February, 1850, John De Bree had sworn before him that a person named Shadrach, held to service and labor in the State of Virginia, and owned by him, had escaped on or about the 3d of May, 1850, and had good reason to believe that he had gone to Boston, Massachusetts. That he had purchased him on or about the 16th of Nov. 1849, from John A. Higgins: that said person appeared to be twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, and about five feet seven inches in height, of a complexion between that of a black and a mulatto, which is sometimes called a bacon color, stout, square built, and of pleasing address.

A certification under seal to the deposition of Wm. Robertson that Shadrach had been a servant at the store of R. S. Hutchings & Co., of Norfolk, and was owned by Martha Hutchings; that he was afterwards sold at a sheriff's sale, under an execution, against Martha Hutchings, who was a member of the firm, and was purchased by Mr. John A. Higgins, and afterwards sold by him to John De Bree, and has heard Shadrach speak of De Bree as his master.

A certification, under seal, of the deposition of John A. Higgins, of Norfolk, Va., that he had sold to John De Bree a negro named Shadrach, on the 16th of Nov., 1849, and which he had purchased on the 22d of July, 1849, at a public sale of William W. Lamb, made by virtue of the execution of the Circuit Supreme Court of Law and Chancery for the city of Norfolk and State of Virginia, at the suit of Joseph Coperthwaite, assignee of the Bank of the United States; that he had run away and escaped, &c.

A certification, under seal, of the deposition of Wm. Marcus, that he knew Shadrach as the slave of De Bree, and had seen him in Boston, where he had stated that he ran away from his master, and desired the deponent to carry on a letter for him to Norfolk.

A copy of the execution on behalf of the U. S. Bank, by which Shadrach was taken and sold to De Bree for $360.

A copy of the receipt given for the money by the auctioneer.

A power of attorney, under seal, giving John Caphart, of Norfolk, a power of attorney to reclaim and restore the fugitive, named Shadrach, as in all matters his owner might be empowered to do and dated Feb. 1, 1851.

A certification, under seal, that on the application of John De Bree, that Judge Baker had, under the law of Congress, entitled "an act to amend, and supplementary to the act entitled an act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters, approved Feb. 12, 1793, approved Sept. 18, 1850," and upon consideration of these affidavits decreed that said Shadrach was lawfully holden by his master and owner to service, John De Bree; and so held that he had escaped, and is probably now or has been in the city of Boston, and had caused a record of the matters so proved, and gives a general description of the fugitive, corresponding to that above.

A certification to the above papers by John Williams, clerk of the court before mentioned.

After the papers had been read, the Commissioner made an order in writing, directing the Marshal to hold the defendant in his custody and produce him at the adjournment on Tuesday. He then directed the proceedings to be adjourned until Tuesday at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Commissioner Curtis then left the court room, which was immediately cleared by the U. S. acting marshal, Mr. Riley, of all but the officers and some half dozen individuals, including Elizur Wright and three or four other "higher law" advocates.—Wright intimated something about pistol shooting, when he was ordered by Mr. Riley to leave the court room. Mr. Wright, however, stuck by the fugitive with the tenacity of death. In the meantime, the colored people had been gathering from all parts of the city, and were posted in knots of half dozens in the various streets, alleys and courts in the neighborhood of the court house, while quite a large body, probably sixty or a hundred, had noiselessly, and unknown to the officers in the room with the prisoner taken complete possession of the stairway and corridors leading thereto. The officers present consisted of Mr. Patrick Riley, acting marshal, (marshal Devans, it is said, had left town for Washington) John Riley, and assistant officer Hutchins, F. D. Byrnes, Neale, and one or two others.

The first intimation to the *posse* within the court room, that they were besieged—actually cut off from all outward succor and assistance—was a furious yell of "Tear him out! Rescue him!" which resounded at the instant Hutchings opened the door, to the left of the Judge's bench, for the egress of Charles B. Davis, one of the prisoner's counsel, and the last (except Elizur Wright and one colored man) to leave the court room! The yell was accompanied by a tremendous assault upon the door, which yielded, in spite of the united force of all the officers inside, and was hurled open. Then in poured an avalanche of muscular and excited darkies, capable of overturning everything before them.

Meanwhile, no one was left to guard the prisoner, except Elizur Wright and the colored individual before mentioned. Shadrach immediately started for the door leading towards Court street, and opposite from the entrance, apparently seeking the opportunity offered by a demonstration of his friends to escape. A person present headed him off, and was ordered by the Marshal's deputy to shoot the prisoner, which order he was probably unable to obey.

The prisoner was very much alarmed, and as his friends broke in, he ran into the corner of the room, where four or five seized him by the collar and feet and in a few minutes, surrounded by hundreds of his colored brethren, he was carried down the stairs into the street, and thence toward Belknap street, from which place he is, ere this, we presume, carried to parts unknown—probably *en route* to Canada. Mr. Hutchings was knocked down and kicked in the stomach, but fortunately his wallet broke the blow, which might have been serious. The sword of the United States Marshal was taken from its place by one of the assistant marshals, when the crowd first broke in; but being laid on a table, was seized by a colored man, who carried it into the street. He was subsequently seen with it in Court Square by Henry Hallet who called upon constable Ed. J. Jones, then passing, to arrest the negro, Jones refused, and the fellow tossed the sword into a lamp store, whence it was recovered.

The colored mob, with their prisoner, hurried down the stairs, and escaped from the court house by the westerly door. Shadrach was then hurried off down Court street, a stout negro on each side having hold of his collar pushing him forward to 2 40 gait, which his limbs seemed unwilling to achieve, followed by some two hundred of the mob. On their course, a cab, standing apparently without a driver, was fallen in with, seized upon by the rescuers, and the fugitive hurried into it, smashing the glass of the door in the eagerness of the moment, and one of them mounting the box drove off down Cambridge street, and thence over Cambridge bridge, at the top of the animal's speed. The fugitive was landed at the house of a colored man in Cambridge, where he was concealed for the night, a few officers making a lame attempt at pursuit.

Before serving the warrant on Shadrach, Mr. Riley, the Deputy Marshal, sent to Commodore Downes at the Charleston Navy Yard, asking him for the use of the yard as a place of confinement for the prisoner on his arrest, to which Commodore Downes replied, that under his present instructions from the Secretary of the Navy, he could not do it. The owner of the slave, having previously corresponded with the Secretary of the Interior on the subject, four months ago, the Secretary had replied, to an inquiry as to whether this dock yard could be used for the purpose of this arrest, that it could be so used.

After the arrest, Mr. Riley went to the Mayor and Marshal Tukey, asking of these functionaries aid in behalf of the United States for the security of this prisoner. Aid was promised in case of any breach of the public peace, and some twenty policemen held in readiness at the Marshal's office for further instruction. The alleged fugitive was duly identified in the court room by a person who has known him for the past sixteen years, and his escape renders the Deputy Marshal liable to his owner for his value as a slave.

Up to the hour of our going to press last night no arrest of the fugitive had been made. The occurrence creates the greatest excitement about town; hundreds collected about the court house shortly after the escape was known—the order loving citizens expressing their indignation in no qualified terms, and the free soil and colored gentry expressing an equal amount of rejoicing at the triumph of their favorite "higher law" over that of our common country.

A person answering the description of Shadrach, was reported to have been seen yesterday at the house of a colored man residing at East Cambridge, on a street leading from East Cambridge to Cambridgeport, within a precinct known as the "Old Bottle House" tenements.

It is said that several of the mob were armed with revolvers and other weapons, at the time of the rescue; but no use was made of them, though the fact that they had previously made known their determination at a public meeting of their race, to make use of deadly weapons upon any attempt to restore a fugitive, had some influence in intimidating the officers.

A few minutes before the rescue took place, a tall, well dressed man stepped hastily into Cook's hat store, in Court street, and begged to exchange his hat for a second hand cap, saying that he "should probably have some fighting to do in a few minutes." The exchange was made, and he quickly disappeared.

The Deputy United States Marshal, and the Mayor and Marshal of Boston.

The following affidavit of the Deputy U. S. Marshal at Boston, and the replies of the Mayor and Marshal of Police, relative to the escape of the fugitive slave in that city have been published.

AFFIDAVIT OF DEPUTY THE UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts—Suffolk County.—I, Patrick Riley, of Boston, in the said county, counsellor at law, having been duly sworn, depose and say, that I am, and have been for fourteen years past, the principal deputy of the United States Marshal for the district of Massachusetts; that on Saturday morning, February 15th, 1851, about 20 minutes before 8 A. M., was called upon at my residence, by Frederick Warren, one of the United States deputy marshals, who informed me that there was a negro man, an alleged fugitive, to be arrested at 8 o'clock, who was supposed to be at Taft's Cornhill Coffee House, near the court house, and desired to know where the negro should be put, in case he should be arrested before I reached the office; that I told him to place him in the United States Court room—and that I would come to the office immediately—that I came down almost immediately to the office, where I arrived shortly after 8 o'clock, and there found Mr. Warren, who informed me that the negro was unknown to Mr. Sawin, a special deputy marshal to whom the warrant was handed on the night previous, as I have been informed, though no notice of it had been given by any occupant of the Marshal's office—and that the negro was unknown to any one of the Marshal's deputies or assistants; that Mr. Warren informed me that Mr. Sawin had gone to find the man who, by previous arrangement, was to point out the negro, and who had not shown himself, as agreed; that I remained in the court giving directions, and making preparations to secure the negro when arrested, and awaiting the return of Mr. Sawin; that I saw him after 10 o'clock, and he informed me that he had seen the parties in interest, and that it had been arranged not to attempt the arrest until 11 o'clock; that I told him it should not be delayed one moment and directed him to notify the man who was to point him out to come up instantly; that he left for that purpose, and, at ten minutes before 11 returned, and said that the parties were about Taft's Coffee House and that the men engaged were also in readiness in that neighborhood; that I went immediately with Mr. Warren, Mr. Jon H. Riley, and the deputies, to the said coffee-house, and there found all our men, nine in number, stationed in and about the place; that there were several negroes in and about the house, and I inquired for the man who was to point out the alleged fugitive, and was informed that he had not arrived; that Mr. Warren and myself went immediately into the dining hall of the coffee-house, and, to avoid suspicion ordered some coffee, and were waited upon by a negro, who subsequently proved to be the alleged fugitive; that not hearing anything from our assistants, we took our coffee and rose to go out and learn why we had not heard from them; that the negro went before us to the bar-room, with the money to pay for the coffee, and, in the passage between the bar-room and hall, Mr. Sawin and Mr. Byrne came up, and each took the negro by an arm and walked him out of the back passage way, through a building between the coffee house and the square beside the court-house to the court-room, as by me directed; that I immediately, while he was entering the court-house, went to the office of the City Marshal, in the City Hall, in the same square with the court-house, and there saw Mr. Francis Tukey, the City Marshal, told him what had been done, and stated that as there would probably be a great crowd, his presence with the police would be needed to preserve order. and keep the peace in and about the court-house, which is owned by the City, and in which all the Courts of the Commonwealth for Suffolk county are held; that Mr. Tukey stated that it should be attended to—that I told him that I should notify the Mayor instantly, and proceeded up stairs to the Mayor's office, where I found Hon. John P. Bigelow, Mayor of the City, and made the same communication and request to him which I had made to Mr. Tukey. To which the Mayor said—"Mr. Riley, I am sorry for it." I then left the office, at which time it was just 11 1-2 o'clock, that I went immediately to the court house and found the negro in the United States Court room, with the officers, and found all the doors closed, and was admitted by the usual inside entrance; that George T. Curtis, Esq., the United States Commissioner, was called, and came, and the claimants counsel were sent for; that all the doors were kept closed excepting the usual entrance, which was guarded by officers; that the Commissioner informed the fugitive, who was named "Shadrack" in the warrant, of the character of the business, and asked him if he wanted counsel—to which he said that he did, and that his friends had gone for counsel; that while waiting for the counsel to come, the room began to be filled with negroes and whites; that the counsel for the prisoner appeared, and claimed delay, to give them opportunity to consult with their client, pending which I desired Mr. Warren, the deputy marshal, to go to the Navy Yard at Charlestown, about two miles distant, and ask Commodore Downes whether, should a delay or adjournment take place, the navy yard might be used as a place of detention, the United States not being permitted by the law of the State to use its jails, and having none of their own; that the examination proceeded and after the reading of certain documents presented by the claimant's attorney, and some discussion, the Commissioner decided to grant the delay until Tuesday following, the 18th instant. That the counsel for the prisoner asked of the Commissioner if he might not remain and hold consultation with their client, and examine with him the papers presented, to which the Commissioner assented; that the court room was ordered to be cleared, and was cleared of all save some fifteen officers, being all the reliable men whom we had been able to collect, the counsel, and some newspaper reporters; that Mr. Warren at this time returned from the navy yard, and informed me that he had seen Commodore Downes, who said he could not grant my request; that I despatched what officers I could spare to ask such of their friends to remain as would assist and to procure all the possible additional force, intending to use the court house as a place of detention; that Mr. Curtis left; that crowds of negroes and others began to gather about the court house, and in the passage-ways leading to the court house; that I went to one of the messengers who had charge of the building, and desired him to have all the court house doors closed as soon as possible which were not necessary for use; that at or before 1 o'clock, Mr. Ebenezer Noyes, the messenger of the United States Court was despatched to the City Marshal, whom he informed that the United States Marshal wanted every man he could send to keep the peace in and about the court house, to which the City Marshal replied that he had no men in, but would send them over as they came in.—That about 2 o'clock all the counsel had left except Mr. Charles G. Davis and a reporter, who, I learned, was Elizur Wright, one of the editors of the *Commonwealth* newspaper; that as the door was opened for them to leave, which opened outwardly, the negroes without who had filled the passage-way on the outside, took hold of the edges of the door as it opened, and then a struggle ensued between the holders of the door within and those without; that Mr. Warren, the deputy, immediately ran to the City Marshal's office, and not finding the City Marshal in, went to the Mayor's office, and was informed that he had gone to dinner; that he then stated to those in his office that there was a mob in and about the court house, and called upon them to send men to help disperse it; that he then returned to the City Marshal's office, found him in his private room, informed him of the trouble in the court house, and asked him to send all the men he could furnish, and whether he, (Mr. Warren) could aid him in getting his men, to which he said that Mr. Warren could not assist him in the matter; that, meanwhile, the struggle at the door continued for some minutes, and the crowd of negroes finally succeeded in forcing the door wide open, rushed in in great numbers, overpowered all the officers, surrounded the negro, and he was forced by them through the door down the stairs, and out of the side door of the court house, and thence through the streets to the section where most of the negroes of the city reside; that officers were despatched in pursuit, but have not succeeded in finding out his present abode; that from the time of the first notice to the Mayor and City Marshal, immediately after the arrest, as heretofore stated, to the giving of this deposition, neither the Mayor nor the City Marshal has appeared, nor has a single officer under their direction appeared, or aided in attempting to disperse the mob, or in keeping the peace: and that, in my opinion, it was the predetermined purpose of both not to do their duty in keeping the peace in and about their own court house—for the City Marshal, when requested by Henry S. Hallet, Esq., to disperse a similar mob which had collected about the office of his father, a U. S. Commissioner, during the excitement in the "Crafts" case, said he had orders not to meddle in in the matter, as I am informed by the said Hallet, and that the City Marshal gave a similar answer to Watson Freeman, Esq—who asked him about the same time why he did not disperse the mob, as I am informed by the said Freeman; that Charles Devens, Jr. Esq. the United States Marshal for the district at the time of the arrest, was returning from Washington, where he had gone on imperative official business; that it is proper to state here that neither the Marshal nor his deputy is authorized by law to employ a permanent force sufficient to resist a mob; and that he has no authority to call to his aid the troops of the State or of the United States.

P. RILEY.
U. S. Deputy Marshal, Mass'tts. District.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts—Suffolk County—February 17, 1851.—Then personally appeared the above named Patrick Riley and only swore that the foregoing as to the facts stated to be within his personal knowledge affidavit by him subscribed is true; and that he believes that the statements therein given as made to him by others are true.

HORATIO WOODMAN,
Justice of the Peace.

STATEMENT OF THE MAYOR.

I feel it my duty to notice publicly a deposition of the acting United States Marshal, which appeared in the morning papers.

On Saturday last, between the hours of 11 and 12 o'clock, Mr. Riley came to my office in the City Hall, and said to me—"We have got a negro and I thought I would call and let you know." I received the information as a kindly hint to look out for street disturbances. He made no request whatever for assistance, nor did he intimate in any way that he wanted any, or that he had any apprehension of a rescue. After a few unimportant remarks he retired. I immediately sent for the Marshal, and directed him to preserve order around the court house to prevent obstructions to proper communication therewith of course including (as all such orders do) the protection of officers in charge of prisoners, while getting to or from the building. I remained in my office for an hour and a half after giving these directions, but received no further communication on the subject from any one. The police, within my knowledge, have never been called upon to attend the courts of the State or United States, and as I have already stated, no request was made to me for such assistance in the present case.

Knowing that the Marshal of the United States has his own officers, and that he is authorized to appoint as many deputies for call to his assistance as many individuals as the occasion may require—knowing, also, that the sheriff, together with deputies and constables, are stationed in the court house, I had not the shadow of suspicion that Mr. Riley was wanting in ample means to retain his prisoner against unarmed assailants.

Mr. Riley makes an ungenerous use of a casual remark which I intended for kindness. He was agitated; appeared to speak with great inconvenience to his lungs, and remarked that he had great difficulty in catching his breath. I answered that I was "sorry for him." I annex a statement of the City Marshal.

JOHN P. BIGELOW
City Hall, Feb. 17, 1851.

LETTER FROM THE CITY MARSHAL.

Sir:—In answer to the communication of P. Riley, allow me to state that on the 15th, at half-past 11 o'clock, A. M., he came into my office and said, "We have got a nigger. I merely notify you, so that if they make trouble you may be about." These were his exact words, and all he said. I immediately consulted with you, and you directed me to prevent any breach of the peace outside of the court house, and I took measures accordingly. I sent out officers from time to time to see that all was quiet. At about 1 o'clock, afternoon, Mr. Noyes came to my office, saying the U. S. Marshal wanted all the spare officers I had. I had none. I wanted all I had to execute your orders.

At about 10 minutes to 2 o'clock, I sent an officer to the court room, and found the door taken care of, and the officer I sent was denied admission—the person having charge saying the U. S. Marshal told him to admit no one. He returned. In a few moments afterwards another person came, and said that he was afraid the negroes would break open the court room. I immediately started, but before I had got out of the City Hall, I learned the fugitive had been rescued.

I learn and believe it to be true, that Mr. Riley said he did not want any others than those he had employed to remain in the court room, and added that "we can take care of the man," and also at the time the rush was made, he was walking backwards and forwards across the court room, and made no resistance whatever at the door, or as the negroes passed by him.

In conclusion, allow me respectfully to say that in the ordinance creating the office of City Marshal, I do not find that he is to do the work of the United States Marshal, and if it is the wish of the city government to have me to do it, they have only to pass the order, and I will arrest the fugitives and keep them, or I will resign.

Respectfully yours,
FRANCIS TUKEY, City Marshal
To Hon. John P. Bigelow, Mayor of Boston.
February 17, 1851.

Examination of Elizur Wright for aiding the Escape of the Fugitive Slave—Arrest of another of the Mob.

THE MATTER BEFORE U. S. COMMISSIONER CURTIS.

[From the Boston Journal.]

The examination of Elizur Wright, for aiding in the escape of Frederick Wilkins, alias Shadrach, an alleged fugitive slave, on Saturday afternoon, last, was commenced in the United States District Court room at 12 o'clock M., to-day, before Benjamin F. Hallett, Esq. United States Commissioner.

The following is a copy of the warrant upon which the defendants were arrested:—

United States of America.
Massachusetts District, ss
To the Marshal of the District of Massachusetts, or either of his deputies—Greeting:

In the name of the President of the United States, these are to command you, forthwith to apprehend Elizur Wright, named in a complaint made on oath before me, this day, by George Lunt, if he may be found in said district, for aiding, abetting, and assisting one Shadrach, otherwise called Frederick, otherwise called Frederick Wilkins, a fugitive from service or labor, to escape from one John Caphart, agent of John De Bree, claimant of said fugitive, as is more particularly set forth in said complaint, and bring him before me, in the United States court room, to answer to the said complaint and to be further dealt with thereon as the law directs.

Hereof fail not, and make return of this warrant with your doings therein.

Given under my hand and seal, at Boston, this seventeenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

[Signed] B. F. HALLETT.
Commissioner of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts.

United States of America, }
Massachusetts District, ss. }
Boston, February 17, 1851.

Pursuant hereunto, I have arrested the within named Wright, and now have him before the Commissioner within named, for examination.

[Signed] J. H. RILEY, U. S. Deputy Marshal.

Before 12 o'clock M., (the hour assigned for the examination to commence), the floor of the court room was well filled, and the gallery was crowded, only a few colored men and some half dozen colored women being among the throng.

At six minutes past 12 o'clock, Mr. Commissioner Hallett and Hon. George Lunt, U. S. Attorney for this District, came into the room, and the Commissioner took his seat on the bench.

Mr. Lunt stated the act under which the defendant (Mr. Wright) was arrested, and read the same to the Commissioner. It was under the last clause of the act that the party had been arrested, and it would probably become necessary, in the first place. to establish the fact that the party who had escaped was a fugitive slave.

Mr. Lunt stated that he proposed to have the witness read certain documentary evidence of the identity of the party escaped, and with which he was perfectly familiar, they being the same as were read before another Commissioner on Saturday.

Mr. Sewall raised the question of the admissibility of such documents as evidence in the case now before the Commissioner.

The Commissioner replied that his view was, that the party escaped must be proved to have been a fugitive slave. The other point in the case was, whether the party was rescued from the custody of Mr. Caphart, or from officers who were assisting Mr. C.

Mr. Hildreth stated that Mr. Caphart would have the same liberty to come into Court and claim him as a fugitive from service and labor; and without proving him such, was he to be answerable, or his friends for him, if he escaped by their aid?

The Commissioner replied that when that case should occur, and was brought before him to decide, he would give his opinion of the matter. This case was now presented merely in the form of a preliminary inquiry, to see if there is sufficient evidence to hold the party to appear for trial.

Patrick Riley was the first witness called, and testified that he was one of the U. S. Marshal's deputies; was present in the court room on Saturday last, at the time of the rescue of a colored man named Shadrach. After the court room was cleared, there remained as officers, Mr. Byrnes, Sawin, J. H. Riley, Ebenezer Noyes, Isaac Hall, Bailey, Clark, E. J. and Wm. K. Jones, George J. Dexter, C. Hutchins, Charles Flint, of Reading, and others. Those just named were engaged as officers; all those named remained; I never counted them, but there were fifteen or twenty present. The counsel claimed the right to have a consultation with their client. Mr. Sewall and Mr. Loring also claimed the right to examine the papers which had been brought into the case. Some of the reporters of the press desired the privilege, and were permitted to examine the same papers. This was about 2 o'clock, and just about the same time as the reporters left, a gentleman (whom I did not know at the time,) came in, but who I have since learned was Elizur Wright, the prisoner. Mr. Wright shook hands with the prisoner, (Shadrach) and said he had been a friend of the slave since '33—Wright then asked him where his defences were. I remarked that I have no doubt that you can purchase the slave. I would give $25, and if necessary, $50, for such a purpose. Wright exclaimed that he would sooner

give $50 to buy pistols for him to defend himself. I told Mr. Wright that I should not allow such language to be used in the court room, and ordered him to leave the room, and the officers to put him out. He did not seem inclined to go, and it was owing only to the fact that I had so small a force present that he was not instantly ejected; in the meantime, I think Mr. Sewall had left; at this time I heard quite a hurrah, and the officers at the door called for help; I was then standing by the prisoner, but immediately left him and rushed for the door; I looked back towards the prisoner, and told him if he moved I would shoot him; he then dodged down under a table; Mr. John H. Riley ran to the Marshal's desk and drew the sword from the scabbard, just at the instant the crowd broke in; he then laid the sword on a table, and ran to one of the windows for the purpose of calling help from the outside; in less time than I can tell it, the fugitive was taken out; I was squeezed behind the green door; a colored man, whom I have since learned was Rev. Mr. Grimes, came in at the same time with Wright.

Cross-examined—My affidvit, as published, contains a correct statement; there is nothing in that affidavit which I wish to alter, and nothing but what I reaffirm; I have heard Mr. Wright spoken of as a reporter, and the first I knew of his being in the room was hearing Mr. Sewall call him Mr. Wright; I am positive that I heard Mr. Wright make the remark about purchasing the weapons or pistols, and I think Mr. Sewall, the gentleman before me, made a singular remark; I was a little angry with Mr. Wright at that time; it was the remark made by him that caused me to order him out of the room; I ordered my assistants to remove Mr. Wright; and repeated the order three or four times; from his remarks, I was satisfied that Wright was not a proper person to be in the court room at that time; after the eruption, Wright was standing in the jury seats, and I recognized him; I used no city constable in the arrest unless Charles Sawin, who is a deputy marshal, is also a constable; I have already named all whom I remember were in the room at the time of the rescue, and they consisted of Mr. Ebenezer Noyes, messenger, John H. Riley, Frederick D. Byrnes, and Charles Sawin, deputies, Mr. Simpson Clark, special officer; Mr. Calvin Hutchins, special officer, Dexter was not here on the inside. Mr. Davis, Mr. Wright and Mr. Grimes, were about passing out of the door; those officers whom I have named were on the inside; when I saw Mr. Wright, after the crowd rushed in, he was doing nothing and said nothing that I saw or heard; Mr. Wright and Mr. Davis were about leaving at my request.

Frederick D. Byrnes, called and sworn—Am a deputy of the U. S. Marshal; was present in the court house from about half past eleven till the rescue; saw Mr. Wright here, and knew him before that time; after the court room was cleared, Mr. Wright and some others were here, I should think, about half an hour after adjournment; Mr. Wright came in in a very abrupt manner, which caused Mr. Hutchins, who was at the door, to stop him; I told Mr. Hutchins to admit him; soon after he entered he had some conversation with Mr. Riley, and also with the prisoner, with whom he shook hands; I did not hear their conversation; I think all left, except Mr. Davis and Mr. Wright, and the officers and prisoner; Mr. Wright continued in conversation with the fugitive; Mr. Wright, I think, went out once—I know he did—and remained perhaps five minutes; when Mr. Wright was leaving finally, I had him by the arm; when we reached the door, Mr. Wright made a push against the door to open it wider than was necessary for him or us to go out; as he passed the threshhold, Wright raised his arm and exclaimed, "Come in! now! now! come in now!" those outside immediately rushed in; we managed to close the green baise door once, but it was immediately opened again; the panel door we were unable to close; after the baise door was closed, I heard voices outside say, "Go in! go in! take him away! take him away!" at the time Wright raised his arm, I had hold of him, and felt the sensation of his voice when he made the exclamations as I have stated—I could feel that he was speaking; this was at the very time I was going out with Wright, and the rush of the crowd; I saw Mr. Wright afterwards; during the trouble a blow was struck at me; when the green baise door was forced open the second time, in came Mr. Wright again; he was the first man in.

ARREST OF ANOTHER OF THE MOB.

About ten o'clock this morning, Deputy U. S. Marshals John H. Riley, Byrnes, and Sawin, arrested a large, stout negro, named John Noye, upon similar process as that issued against Elizur Wright and Chas. G. Davis, and for the same offence. This arrest was soon spread on the wings of the wind, and a crowd collected, composed mostly of white persons, who appeared to be laboring men, having for the time being no particular business, except loitering about the court house, and gossipping in regard to the nature of the arrest. The story that he was a fugitive slave gained considerable currency; but when the fact that he was only arrested for aiding in the escape of a fugitive, became known, the crowd gradually separated; but quite a number continued in the square, their strength being replenished by new comers, just about as fast as those who heard the story retired.

Mr. Commissioner Hallett read the complaint against Noye, to which he pleaded not guilty.

Messrs. Wm. Hildreth and Samuel E. Sewall, Esqs., appeared as counsel for Noye, and moved that the bail in this case be placed at a lower sum than in the case of the others.

Mr. Lunt replied that the prisoner was at the head of the gang who broke into the court house, on Saturday, and he saw no reason why the bail should not be at least as large as in the other cases.

Mr. Sewall urged that the amount of bail in the other cases should not be considered in this case; that the offence with which the defendant was charged was nothing more than the larceny of property, and the bail ought not to be greater than in cases of larceny.

Mr. Lunt replied.

The Commissioner then ordered the prisoner to recognize in the sum of $3,000, for his appearance for examination on Thursday next, the 20th instant, at 11 o'clock, A. M., and in default thereof to stand committed.

William W. Majoram offered himself, and was accepted, as surety for the appearance of Noye at the above named time.

THE MATTER BEFORE U. S. COMMISSIONER CURTIS.

At 10 o'clock this morning, U. S. Commissioner Geo. T. Curtis took his seat in the U. S. court room, agreeably to the adjournment of this case on Saturday. At twenty minutes past 10 o'clock Deputy U. S. Marshal Patrick Riley, came in, and upon the Commissioner inquiring of him why the fugitive Shadrach was not present in accordance with his order he read his "return," to which was annexed his affidavit, (which he also read) as already published, detailing the circumstances of the rescue of said Shadrach.

Mr. Sewall here attempted to make some statement, but was interrupted by the Commissioner, who stated that nothing could be heard from the party who had fled from custody of the court and the process of the law.

Mr. Sewall claimed the right to appear in his (Shadrach's) behalf, and attempted to ridicule the return of the acting Marshal.

The Commissioner decided that he could not be further heard in the matter.

Mr. Thomas then enumerated the facts relative to the proceedings on Saturday.

He stated that he was in doubt as to the propriety of the Court hearing additional testimony, which he could produce, but should, under the circumstances, await the decision of the Court as to the propriety of proceeding.

The Commissioner stated that he was not aware of any precedent that would authorize him to proceed in the enquiry; but without looking for precedent, and guided by his own mind and opinion, he should order that no further proceedings under the complaint and warrant against Shadrach be had at present.

Mr. Sewall then moved that Shadrach be discharged from the warrant.

The Commissioner stated that he had already given his decision, and ordered the Marshal to adjourn the Court.

Previous to these proceedings a posse of some twenty five city watchmen, who had been duly detailed and empowered for the purpose, were stationed in the court room and passage ways leading thereto and during the proceedings we did not observe any colored persons in the building, with the exception of Robert Morris, Jr., and one other who was under arrest for aiding in the rescue and outrage on Saturday.

SECOND DAY.

At 10 o'clock the Commissioner came in, and before commencing the examination of witnesses,

Mr. Lunt moved that the proclamation of the President of the United States, published in the papers of this morning, be now read by the United States Marshal, in and before this court.

Mr. Sewall objected to the reading of the proclamation on the ground that it did not come before them in an authentic form, and that no one knew that it was authentic.

The Commissioner—The motion is deemed a very proper one, and I regret exceedingly that any citizen should treat a matter emanating from the highest officer in the Union with ridicule.

United States Marshal Devens then read the proclamation of President Fillmore, after which the examination was resumed.

Calvin Hutchins called and sworn—Am a city watchman; was in attendance in this room on Saturday last, and saw the defendant here; the first that I saw of Mr. Wright, was at the door; I opened the panel door for the purpose of letting persons in or out, as I had orders; heard a rap on the door; opened it and observed Mr. Wright and several other persons; Mr. Wright was very much agitated, and I stopped him; passed the word in to Mr. Riley that a man was at the door who wished to come in; Wright said he belonged to the press, and had a right in the room; Mr. Riley told me to let him in; Wright came in, and passing across the room to Mr. Riley, had some words with him, and Mr. Riley ordered Wright to go out; instead of going out, Wright went round and spoke to the prisoner; when he went out finally, there was no officer with him as I recollect; Mr. Wright and Mr. Davis were standing close together, just outside of the door; could not swear that I heard Wright say anything at the time the door was burst in; some one said "come in," and others said, "go in," but can't say from whom they came; at this time Wright was inside, I think, because he had not time to get fairly out before the rush was made.

Cross-examination—Just as the rush was made, I heard the outcries; when Wright came in, he was much out of breath, and appeared as if he had been running; there had been other attempts to pull the door open, but none so violent as this; when Wright first came, I think he or some one else knocked at the door; was knocked down at the rush; some blows were passed at me, and one man kicked me; don't recollect of seeing Mr. Davis's face after the rush; while close by the door, Mr. Davis had some conversation with Mr. Byrnes; Wright first passed out, and then Davis—nearly together.

To the Commissioner—They passed out perhaps a minute before the rush; I held on to the knob of the panel door as long as I could; that door was probably open a foot wide; this was as Davis was passing out; he put his hand against the door and pushed against it, and others pulled and threw the door back, and I was thrown around with the door, and some passed directly in, and others were outside; I got hold of one man and held on to him some moments, until he got away; in the first place, I called for help; I saw the prisoner when he came out; should think four or five had hold of him as he rushed out; no one offered to aid me; don't think I saw Mr. Wright after the rush.

To Mr. Sewall—Saw Mr. Henry Homer on the stairs just as I was crowded out.

Charles Sawin called and sworn—Am a Deputy Marshal of the United States; have been a constable five or six years; was in attendance on Saturday last; as I was standing near the fugitive, I heard some one outside say, "take him away, boys;" also heard Mr. Wright say, "in, in;" I saw him as plain as I see him now; when I heard the cry, I went to the door to assist there.

Cross examined—I now hold a constable's warrant; was left off for a time; don't know as I am obliged to give the reasons why; saw Mr. Wright in the crowd; he was among the black niggers; I did not see him through the black niggers, but over their heads; am a native of South Natick; I never kept a gambling house or a bawdy house; there have been false representations concerning me, and I have proved them such.

The Commissioner—This course of enquiry is decidedly improper.

Mr. Hildreth—If the United States are to have witnesses whose character cannot be enquired into, I shall look out for the future.

At the rush, the man nearest me was a big nigger, against whom I was crowding; then there might have been one or two, or three small sized niggers and then Mr. Wright; I saw Wright over their heads, and behind him, the tall negro.

Mr. Lunt here proposed to rest the case for the prosecution for the present, believing that a sufficient case had been proved, to warrant the Commissioner to hold the defendant for trial.

Mr. Sewall said that no evidence had been introduced to show that the person who had escaped was a fugitive from service or labor. Papers were produced, and proved, but were not read, and under these circumstances, he must move that Mr. Wright be immediately discharged.

The Commissioner replied by saying that he understood that those papers were put into the case. That on Saturday last, there was an alleged fugitive in this court room, as was proved by Mr. Riley and other witnesses. That person had escaped, and the purpose in this case was to show the connection of the defendant with his escape.

Mr. Sewall thought that the papers in question should be read, and then he would be ready to state his objections thereto. He urged that the prosecuting officer should fully establish the identity of the fugitive in question. He had not been identified, and no attempt had been made to establish his identity.

Mr. Lunt thought that enough had been proved for the purposes of this examination.

Mr. Hildreth thought any person who might be arrested by mistake, might walk away or be aided in walking away, even with force. If the person arrested is the right man, the Marshal has a right to hold him; but if he makes a mistake, and arrests the wrong man that man has a right to resist and kill the Marshal and all his deputies.

The Commissioner—Mr. Hildreth, if you wish to argue any point of law, I will hear your argument, but this is not the place for an harangue.

Mr. Hildreth—I stand corrected, but—

The Commissioner—Mr. Sewall, the point I wish to draw your attention to—

Mr. Hildreth—I wish to—

The Commissioner—Keep your seat, sir! I am addressing myself now to Mr. Sewall, your colleague. The government is bound to show that the person arrested was the person named in the warrant, and that the person escaped was the person so arrested, and that the party now on examination did aid and assist in the escape and rescue of such person. Whether the escaped party was, or was not, a fugitive slave, is not the question now before the court. If the person arrested was rescued, and did escape, and the defendant is proved to have aided and assisted in that rescue and escape, that constitutes the crime, as laid down in the law.

Mr. Sewall thought that it was incumbent upon the District Attorney to prove that the man arrested was Shadrach, and not John Smith, and not so much that he was a fugitive from service or labor.

Mr. Lunt did not consider it of the least consequence whether the person who escaped was or was not a fugitive slave. That if the party is alleged to be a fugitive slave, and the person rescued or escaped is the person so alleged, and he has been rescued and escaped by the force and aid of others, is the only fact we are called upon at present to establish, together with that of the defendant being engaged in aiding and assisting such alleged person to escape.

Mr. Hildreth said that if the person who was arrested here and escaped on Saturday, should prove to be some other person than Shadrach, that person had the right to escape, and to be aided in effecting his escape.

The Commissioner said he must be pardoned if he did not understand the law as presented by the junior counsel. The position laid down by the senior counsel, that the identity of the alleged fugitive should be established by the District Attorney, was a point which deserved consideration. He considered that the prosecuting officer should establish the fact, that the entry into the court room was for the object of rescuing the person alleged to be a fugitive slave, and the person named in the return of the Deputy Marshal as having escaped, was the person so rescued, and that the present defendant aided in the rescue of such person. If the object of the rush into the room was for some other purpose than the rescue of Shadrach, then the defendant was not answorable.

Patrick Riley, recalled—The colored person who was in custody in this room on Saturday, was the alleged fugitive whom I arrested as Shadrach, and is the same named in my warrant. When I arrested him, I asked him what his name was, and he replied that it was Frederick.

Mr. Sewall again suggested that "those papers" be read.

The Commissioner stated that the papers were already in the case. He regarded them simply as proof that some person had escaped from service and labor, and that the warrant showed that the person to be arrested was the person alleged to have escaped from such service, but, before his identity as that person had been fully established, he was rescued and had escaped.

Mr. Hildreth stated that he should expect to prove that from the time Mr. Wright first heard of the arrest of Shadrach, to the moment he entered the room, he had not sufficient time to act in concert with others outside, and hurried directly to the court room, which will account for his agitation.

The testimony for the government was closed at this point, and the witnesses for the defence were called.

TESTIMONY FOR THE DEFENCE.

Jameson called and sworn—Between twelve and one o'clock, P. M., on Saturday last, saw Mr. Wright at the Adams House. He was there as one of a committee on paper. I told Mr. Wright personally, that I had learned that a fugitive slave had been arrested. The meeting continued in session. Having business in State street, I came down and attended to my business, after which I came to the court house. About half-past one o'clock, I saw Mr. Wright on the stairs leading to the court room, and saw him enter the door. There was a large crowd in the entry, and it was difficult to get either in or out.

James W. Stone called and sworn—Was present at the meeting named by the two last witnesses; saw Mr. Wright there; he spoke in the meeting towards its close which was nearly two o'clock. I came down in company with Mr. Downer as he has stated. I came to the court house before the rescue, and just as I was entering, I met Mr. List, who spoke to me about the arrest. Mr. Jameson told me himself at the meeting, more than an hour before the meeting adjourned. He did not wish to have the arrest generally known, as it might cause the meeting to break up and adjourn.

Charles G. Davis called and sworn—Was in the court room on Saturday last; think Mr. Wright came in about fifteen minutes before he went out; am not personally acquainted with Mr. Wright; first saw him in conversation with Mr. Riley, who said that he had not seen the claimant, or had any conversation with him; that he thought perhaps the slave could be purchased, and he would be glad to give $25 for that purpose; Mr. Wright said he would rather give $50 to purchase Northern doughfaces, or persons who hunted slaves at the North, or something to that effect; I can't give his exact language; Mr. Riley then told Wright that he could not have such conversation in the court room, and ordered him once or twice to go out; both men seemed to be excited; Mr. Wright then spoke to the prisoner in a whisper; at this time the prisoner was seated at a table; a few moments after this Mr. Riley said he should like to have us leave; Mr List said that the counsel would like to have us remain until Mr. Dana came in, as he was expected in with a writ of *habeas corpus*, think that the prisoner could not be held under the evidence; I was very anxious to be present when Mr. Dana should come; Mr. Riley very kindly offered to give us the use of the Marshal's room or a lobby, where we could confer with Mr. Dana; I then turned round, and observed that Mr. Sewall had left; Mr. List also was gone; I then went out at the request of Mr. Riley.

To Mr. Lunt—Mr. Wright might have been within ten feet of me when I had a conversation with Mr. Byrnes; but I don't know where he was.

Mr. Lunt—I object to this testimony.

The Commissioner thought it might be admitted.

Witness continued—Mr. Byrnes said to me, "Mr. Davis, I always had thought you were a gentleman, but I don't think so now," I replied, that I am sorry that you do not think me a gentleman; but I want you to understand my meaning; you talk about justice and fairness in a proceeding like this, and I told you that, according to your code, if we all had justice, we should have our throats cut; I meant what I said, and I mean so now; we then bowed, and I started for the door; as I stepped out of the door, I saw black fingers on the edge of it; after I got out, there was quite a rush or crowd, a sort of push forward; it was closed so far as to be ajar for a moment or so; I rushed for down stairs; I managed to get down to the first landing, when I heard a tremendous yell, which resounded all over the court house, and startled me very much; there were men rushing in past me, and some cried, "come in!" "go in!" and heard a conflict up stairs; I was surprised to see such a motley group outside; the next I saw of Mr. Wright was Saturday evening, about 9 o'clock, when I was sent for; such was the rush at the time I went out, that I did not look behind me; but judging from the rush past me, as I was going down, and those that I saw, I should think there must have been a hundred or more; when I was on the landing, I apprehended that there might be an attempt at rescue; I went down into my office across the square, where I remained a minute or two, and upon coming out again, I heard of the rescue.

To Mr. Lunt—It occurred to me during the forenoon of Saturday, that it was in the power of man to effect a rescue.

Mr. Lunt—was you present, Mr. Davis, at a late meeting in Faneuil Hall, and appointed upon a committee?

Witness—I was then at Syracuse, N. Y.

Mr. Lunt—Was you informed, after your return, that you were appointed on a committee chosen at that meeting?

Witness—I don't know that it was; I have volunteered to act as one of a committe of vigilance, and as legal adviser of fugitive slaves; I have attended meetings of committee, but don't know how that committee was raised, or that they did not appoint themselves; after I let my office upon hearing of the rescue, I went up as far as Howard street, where I was told by Mr. Whitewell, a constable, that the crowd were last seen in that street; think I conversed about the rescue on Saturday afternoon with Mr. Sanger, and in the evening with Mr. Wright, in the editorial chair in the *sanctum*, or editorial room; think that Mr. Hildreth was there; I never have made it a matter of boasting that I assisted in getting that prisoner away; I never have taken any credit, if there be any credit, or any part of it; I don't wish to disguise the fact that I am glad that the man is free.

Commissioner—Mr. witness, do you intend by that to say that you are glad he is free by the means which have been used according to law.

Witness—I mean to say I am glad of the fact.

The Commissioner—If you do not choose to answer my question, Mr. witness, you may stop where you are. Such answers as you have made may tend to discredit your own testimony.

THE Mayor of this City having requested the daily papers to publish Washington's Farewell Address on the anniversary of his birthday, the *Evening Post*, with a hint that his honor may as well attend to cleansing the sidewalks, regulating the Omnibuses, and leave the editors to make up their own papers, proceeds to give instead of the address

WASHINGTON'S VIEWS ON SLAVERY.

The plan alluded to in the following letter, was one which Col Laurens had brought before the Legislature of South Carolina, for raising a regiment of black levies in the State. It was voted down. The following is an extract of a letter from Washington, in reply to one from Laurens, communicating his failure:

To Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

HEADQUARTERS, July 10, 1762.

MY DEAR SIR: The last post brought me your letter of the 19th of May. I must confess, that I am not at all astonished at the failure of your plan. That spirit of freedom, which at the commencement of this contest would have gladly sacrificed everything to the attainment of its object, has long since subsided, and every selfish passion has taken its place. It is not the public, but private interest, which influences the generality of mankind, nor can the Americans any longer boast of exception. Under these circumstances it would rather have been surprising if you had succeeded, nor will you, I fear, have better success in Georgia.

In a remarkable and very interesting letter, written by LaFayette, in the prison of Magdeburg', he said: "I know not what disposition has been made of my plantation at Cayenne, but I hope Madame de La-Fayette will take care that the negroes who cultivate it shall preserve their liberty."

In reply to this portion of General LaFayette's letter, Washington wrote as follows, from Mount Vernon, 10th May, 1786:

"The benevolence of your heart, my dear marquis is so conspicuous upon all occasions, that I never wonder at any fresh proofs of it; but your last purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country. But I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the Assembly, at its last session, for the abolition of Slavery, but they could scarcely obtain a reading. To set the slaves afloat at once, would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief; but by degrees, it certainly might, and assuredly ought to be effected; and that, too, by legislative authority."

Governor Pinkney, of South Carolina, had written the following in a letter to General Washington:

"Our legislature, among other questions, agitated the one respecting the future importation of slaves, as the prohibition expires in March, 1793. Great pains were used to effect a total prohibition; but upon the question being taken in the Senate, it was lost by so decided a majority, that I think we may consider it as certain this State will, after March, 1793, import as largely as they ever did. It is a decision, upon the policy of which I confess I have my doubts."

To this, Washington replied in a letter marked "private," and dated Philadelphia, 17th March, 1792, which contained the following passage:

"I must add that I lament the decision of your legislature upon the question of importing slaves after March, 1793. I was in hopes that motives of policy, as well as *other good reasons, supported by the direful effects of Slavery, which at this moment are presented,* would have operated to produce a total prohibition of the importation of slaves, whenever the question came to be agitated in any State, that it might be interested in the measure."

The following is one of the famous FAIRFAX COUNTY RESOLVES, adopted at a public meeting held in Fairfax County, in Virginia, the 18th day of July, 1774, over which General Washington presided; reported to the meeting by the Committee of which he was Chairman, and by direction of the meeting, reported by him to a State Convention held the following August:

"19, *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, "that during our present difficulties and distress, no "Slaves ought to be imported into any of the British "Colonies on this continent; and we take this oppor- "tunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an "entire stop forever, put to such a wicked, cruel and "unnatural trade."

The following is the second item of General Washington's last will and testament:

"*Item.*—Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves whom I hold in my own right shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life would, *though earnestly wished by me*, be attended with such insuperable difficulties on account of their intermarriage with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences to the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas, among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some who, from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all who come under the first and second descriptions shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live, and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and, in case where no records can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final.

"The negroes thus bound, are (by their masters or mistresses) to be *taught to read and write*,* and be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly *forbid the sale or transportation* out of the said Commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, *under any pretence whatever*. And I do moreover most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors, hereafter named, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested."

*It is a criminal offence now, in Virginia, and in most of the slave States, to teach a slave to read or write.—[Eds. Evening Post.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEB. 27. 1850.

PROCLAMATION.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday afternoon, February 18th, 1851.

Whereas, information has been received, that sundry lawless persons, principally persons of color, combined and confederated together for the purpose of opposing, by force, the execution of the laws of the United States, did, at Boston, Massachusetts, on the 15th of this month, make a violent assault on the Marshal or Deputy Marshals of the United States, for the District of Massachusetts, in the Court-House, and did outrage the said officers, and did, by force, rescue from their custody a person arrested as a fugitive slave, and then and there a prisoner, lawfully holden by the said Marshal or Deputy Marshals of the United States, and other scandalous outrages did commit, in violation of law—Now,

Therefore, to the end that the authority of the laws may be maintained, and those concerned in violating them brought to immediate and condign punishment, I have issued this my proclamation, calling on all well disposed citizens to rally to the support of the laws of their country, and requiring and commanding all officers, civil and military, who shall be found within the vicinity of this outrage, to be aiding and assisting, by all means in their power, in quelling this and other such combinations, and assisting the Marshal and his Deputies in re-capturing the above mentioned prisoners.

And I do especially direct that prosecutions be commenced against all persons who shall have made themselves aiders or abettors in or to this flagitious offence. And I do further command that the District Attorney of the United States, and all other persons concerned in the administration or execution of the laws of the United States, cause the foregoing offenders, and all such as have aided, abetted, or assisted them, or shall be found to have harbored or concealed such fugitive, contrary to law, to be immediately arrested, and proceeded with according to law.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, this 19th day of February, 1851.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.

—The great American God demands of its devotees, and receives from them a various worship. It is sometimes weak things, and sometimes wicked things, and sometimes things very foolish and weak, which were only meant to be wicked, that are done as fit evidence of holy living according to this worship; but its votaries have this advantage, that absurd acts are no less sure of acceptance than merely atrocious ones, so that if a man is a fool at the right time, it shall profit him as much as if he were a villain.

President Fillmore, according to Fowler's phrenological description of him, is a wily man; and had Mr. Fowler discovered him and laid down his chart ten years ago, phrenology would have been justified by events, if it needs now any such justification. The fact, however, is certain—the President is a cunning and a careful man, and he will serve this god in any way that may be needed, and just at the right moment, whether the thing to be done be desperately foolish or desperately wicked. He knows what to do, and when to do it; perhaps it will serve Slavery; at any rate it will seem to; and will certainly serve Millard Fillmore.

Great official acts are supposed to wait upon official occasions. If a neighboring colony is to be invaded, though preparations to that end are made without an attempt at concealment—recruiting offices opened, men enlisted, arms purchased, and transports made ready for sea without the pretence of disguise, the Executive does not feel called upon to take notice of such movements till official information has been laid before him by the inferior officers of the Government. The head of the State is not presumed to know, nor called upon to notice every violation of the public peace, nor to trace every local disturbance to its source to discover some lurking treason against the majesty of the State itself. A departure from this uniform custom of all enlightened nations can only be justified in one of those alarming crises when the very existence of the body politic is threatened with immediate destruction, and its salvation depends upon the prompt action of a governing power mighty in resources and in the energy to use them. This eventful moment has evidently come, and President Fillmore was the man for the moment. Transcending all official precedents, stepping over all official barriers, disregarding all the links of the official chain which connects the head of the State with its lower members, he steps forward sublime and fearless, the Saviour of the Union.

Mr. Fillmore with his face turned Southward, and his ear inclined to listen to the voices of Southern Counsellors, thus sees his duty and makes it known by Proclamation to all the people. It was a wise and great act, looking at it from the handle-end of a plantation negro-whip.

But taking a stand-point in another part of the country where negro-whips are only known as a profitable article of manufacture,—excepting in a metaphorical sense in connection with politicians—and the case presents quite another aspect. Nor of this is the careful president unmindful. To persons looking on this side of the picture his Proclamation, he knows, must appear the most absurd and precipitate act of any government since Sancho Panza's. If the Proclamation could only have gone South of Mason and Dixon's line, —the intelligent and virtuous dwellers in that land being all the same pursuaded that it was meant for their criminal fellow citizens Northward—it would have answered its purpose better. But as that could not be, the next best thing was to send a message to the Senate especially adapted to Northern readers. In that Mr. Fillmore pleasantly assures all those who think that his previous act was a very laughable exercise of executive power and Presidential dignity, that he quite agrees with them, that the occasion which called it forth, whereon a few colored men kicked a Deputy Marshal and his assistants behind the door, and walked a companion out of a Court house into a cab, was nothing but "a surprise not unattended by some degree of negligence,"—an act not "apprehended" by the "thousands who would have presented themselves voluntarily and promptly to prevent it"—an "outrage" that "could only be the result of sudden violence,"—an "outbreak" which "it would be melancholy" "to regard as proceeding from the general feeling of the people" on the spot where it occurred. How could he then step in with the ponderous dignity and official weight of the general government to interfere in so frivolous a case? It was an opportunity not to be lost to show his devotion to the slave-power. 'WE MUST CATCH OUR NIGGERS, else the Union and the Constitution are a nullity,' thunders the slaveholder. 'Oh! you shall; just hear my Proclamation,' says the President. He adds with the other side of his mouth to his astonished Northern constituency, 'this you know, is all nonsense, but we *must* keep up appearances.'

He would not, however, have it supposed that we mean to throw any doubt upon Mr. Fillmore's sincerity in this matter of slave-catching. He is no less willing to do this than he professes to be. He simply does not believe slave-catching to be the object of all government, though he is willing to make it so to secure his own nomination to the next Presidency. But there are Northern voters also, and the outrage upon common sense must not be too flagrant.

As the President's Message proves so completely that the Presidents' Proclamation was entirely uncalled for, the President may be considered as utterly overthrown, and that too by the most invincible antagonist that could be brought against him—namely himself. If other opponents have no mercy they have only to plead so weighty an example, for the President leaves no loop-hole through which be may push himself, or others may push him. It was well known that the only authority the Executive had for its proclamation was the not very reliable one of Telegraphic Dispatches to morning newspapers; but when the Senate asked for the information it was supposed that some official report might, in the meantime, have reached the President, and that he would have at least a sort of *ex post facto* plea for his precipitate Proclamation. But up to the date of his Message all that he knows about the matter is from the newspaper report of the affidavit of one Pat Riley—the redoubtable Deputy Marshal who was kicked behind the door, and whose "sword of justice" some humorous black fellow drew and paraded behind the crowd out of the Court House—and some "private and unofficial communications" confirming the first report. He need not have been so hard upon himself as that.

The Proclamation, nevertheless, is a most significant fact. It is one of the portentous signs of the times, that are daily occurring, that the friends of Slavery are driven now to the last extremity, and that a hand to hand fight has begun between them and their foes. Such an act on such grounds was never before committed by a Chief Magistrate, and if there had been the history of this Government would have been nothing but a series of proclamations. Such occasions have continually arisen, and grow daily more frequent. To say nothing of the constant and systematic violation of the Constitution by municipal regulations in Southern ports, hardly a week occurs that Northern white citizens are not driven by violence from Southern States. Within a month we related the case of Mr. Harris, of Dunbarton; within a week a similar outrage has been perpetrated upon the captain of a Maine vessel, somewhere upon the coast of South Carolina. Yet the President issues no Proclamation, and we know well enough why. But even precisely such cases as this in Boston have occurred repeatedly without exciting the attention of any President. In the Med case in Boston, fifteen years ago, the alleged slave was seized and carried out of Court at the moment the Chief Justice was about to give his decision. In this city much more recently the jail-keys were taken from the side of a drunken keeper, and the Brazilian slaves, who, it was decided, should be returned to the vessel whence they were taken, were led out of prison, and carried out of the State and country. Nor did we even have a Proclamation from Mr. Fillmore, when, week before last, in this city, it was found on the trial of Henry Johnson, mate of the ship Martha, accused of being engaged in the Foreign Slave Trade, that the Captain of said vessel, who had been permitted to go at large on bail, was not to be found. But as somebody wisely says, circumstances alter cases. Kidnapping on the coast of Africa is another thing from kidnapping in Court-street.

AN OMINOUS AND ODIOUS COMPARISON.

The *Tribune*, which seems in no way appalled by the *brutum fulmen* of President Fillmore, was so far forgetful, last week, of its duty to the head of its party as to throw right in his face and eyes, and in those of its respectable readers, the Proclamation of one Governor Gage, once a Governor of Massachusetts, issued on occasion of a certain popular outbreak on behalf of liberty in that State. The people will be apt to read it now along with the President's Proclamation, so we copy it:

By his Excellency,

The Hon. THOMAS GAGE, Esq; Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over his Majesty's Province of *Massachusetts-Bay* and Vice Admiral of the same.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the infatuated Multitude, who have long suffered themselves to be conducted by certain well known Incendiaries and Traitors, in a fatal Progression of Crimes, against the constitutional Authority of the States, have at length proceeded to avowed Rebellion; and the good Effects which were expected to arise from the Patience and Lenity of the King's Government, have been often frustrated, and are now rendered hopeless, by the Influence of the same evil Counsels; it only remains for those who are intrusted with supreme Rule, as well for the Punishment of the guilty, as the Protection of the well-affected, to prove they do not bear the Sword in vain.

The Infringements which have been committed upon the most sacred Rights of the Crown and People of Great Britain, are too many to enumerate on one side, and are all too atrocious to be palliated on the other. All unprejudiced People who have been Witnesses of the late Transaction, in this and the neighboring Provinces, will find upon a transient Review, Marks of Premeditation and Conspiracy that would justify the fulness of Chastisement: And even those who are least acquainted with Facts, cannot fail to receive a just Impression of their Enormity, in Proportion as they discover the Arts and Assiduity by which they have been falsified or concealed. The Authors of the present unnatural Revolt, never daring to trust their Cause or their Actions, to the Judgment of an impartial Public, or even to the dispassionate Reflection of their Followers, have uniformly placed their chief Confidence in the Suppression of Truth: And while indefatigable and shameless Pains have been taken to obstruct every Appeal to the real Interest of the People of America; the grossest forgeries, calumnies, and absurdities that ever insulted human understanding, have been imposed upon their credulity. The press, that distinguished appendage of public liberty, and when fairly and impartially employed its best support, has been invariably prostituted to the most contrary purposes: The animated language of ancient and virtuous times, calculated to vindicate and promote the just rights and interest of mankind, have been applied to countenance the most abandoned violation of those sacred blessings and not only from the flagitious prints, but from the popular harrangues of the times, men have been taught to depend upon activity in treason, for the security of their persons and properties; till to compleat the horrid profanation of terms, and of ideas, the name of God has been introduced in the pulpits, to excite and justify devastation and massacre.

The minds of men have been thus gradually prepared for the worst extremities, a number of armed persons, to the amount of many thousands, assembled on the nineteenth of April last, and from behind walls, and lurking holes, attacked a detachment of the King's troops, who not expecting so consummate an act of phrenzy, unprepared for vengeance, and willing to decline it, made use of their arms only in their own defence. Since that period the rebels, deriving confidence from impunity, have added insult to outrage, have repeatedly fired upon the King's ships and subjects, with cannon and small arms, have possessed the roads, and other communications by which the town of Boston was supplied with provisions; and with a preposterous parade of military arrangement, they affected to hold the army besieged; while part of their body make daily and indiscriminate invasions upon private property, and with a wantonness of cruelty ever incident to lawless tumult, carry depredation and distress wherever they turn their steps. The actions of the 19th of April are of such notoriety, as must baffle all attempts to contradict them, and the flames of buildings and other property from the islands and adjacent country, for some weeks past, spread a melancholy confirmation of the subsequent assertions.

In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last effort within the bounds of my duty, to spare the effusion of blood; to offer, and I do hereby in his Majesty's name, offer and promise his most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.

And to the end that no person within the limits of this proffered mercy may plead ignorance of the consequences of refusing it, I by these presents proclaim, not only the persons above named and excepted, but all their adherents, associates and abettors, meaning to comprehend in those terms, all and every person, and persons, of what class, denomination, or description soever, who have appeared in arms against the King's government, and shall not lay down the same as afore-mentioned; and likewise all such as shall so take arms after the date hereof, or who shall in anywise protect or conceal such offenders, or assist them with money, provision, cattle, arms, ammunition, carriages, or any other necessary for subsistence or offence; or shall hold secret correspondence with them by letter, message, signal, or otherwise, to be rebels and traitors, and as such be treated.

AND WHEREAS, during the continuance of the present unnatural rebellion, justice cannot be administered by the common law of the land, the course whereof has, for a long time past, been violently impeded, and wholly interrupted; from whence results a necessity for using and exercising the Law Martial: I have therefore thought fit, by the authority vested in me, by the royal charter of this province, to publish, and I do hereby publish, proclaim and order the use and exercise of the Law Martial, within and throughout this province, for so long time as the present unhappy occasion shall necessarily require; whereof all persons are hereby required to take notice, and govern themselves, as well to maintain order and regularity among the peaceable inhabitants of the province, as to resist, or encounter and subdue the rebels and traitors above described by such as shall be called upon for these purposes.

To these inevitable, but I trust salutary measures, it is a far more pleasing part of duty, to add the assurances of protection and support to all, who, in so trying a crisis, shall manifest their allegiance to the King, and affection to the parent state. So that such persons as may have been intimidated to quit their habitations in the course of this alarm, may return to their respective callings and professions; and stand distinct and separate from the paricides of the constitution, till God in his mercy shall restore to his creatures, in this distracted land, that system of happiness from which they have been seduced, the religion of peace, and liberty founded upon law.

GIVEN at Boston; this Twelfth day of June, in the fifteenth year of the reign of his Majesty GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of GOD, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, KING, Defender of the Faith, &c. Annoque Domini, 1775. THOMAS GAGE.

By his Excellency's Command,
THO'S FLUCKER, Sec'ry.

GOD Save the KING.

AN UNGRATEFUL REPUBLIC.—The ingratitude of Republics is proverbial, but the Mother of Statesmen, Virginia, is shown by a correspondent of an evening paper to be not only ungrateful, but in her conduct falling far short of the principles taught her by her parent. He calls to mind the fact that Virginia herself, the first to threaten Disunion if her slaves were not caught and sent back, owes her own existence to a fugitive slave. Captain John Smith was not only a runaway from his Turkish master, but, in obedience to what he conceived to be "a higher law," he knocked the Bashaw over the head before leaving him, and took his horse and clothes to ensure his own escape. The *sic semper tyrannis* of the Virginia arms, with the act which it illustrates, was meant, perhaps, to allude to this fact in her history. But under the new light evolved by the advancing civilization and morality of the Republic, ought not her Legislature to execrate the memory of John Smith, and brand him to the latest time as a traitor and fanatic.

THE SLAVE CASE IN BOSTON.—We give in this week's paper a full account of all the transactions attending this development of the peace measures of the last Congress. Shadrach, we are happy to learn, is safe in Canada, under the protection of a Constitution which makes no compromises with slave-catchers.

A GOOD MOVE.—Mr. Giddings, in his place in the House, a few days since, asked leave to introduce a resolution that the President be requested to inform the House, if consistent with the public interest, whether a subject of the British Crown, and also a member of the British Parliament, has been recently insulted in Springfield, Mass., and his personal liberty endangered by citizens of that State, in violation of our Treaty stipulations with the British Government.

Objections being made, he gave notice he would ask to offer the resolution at another time.

THE Boston Board of Aldermen, after the escape of Shadrach, passed the following order. The integrity of the laws and the dignity of the Commonwealth are sometimes very dear to Boston Aldermen.

Whereas, This Board has learned with deep regret that the integrity of the laws and the dignity of the Commonwealth and City have been greatly impaired by the forcible rescue and abduction of a prisoner from the hands of an officer of the United States, who had him in legal custody—Therefore it is

Ordered, That the City Marshal, under the instruction of the Mayor, be directed, whenever he shall be properly informed by any public officer of this State or the United States that there is danger that he shall be unlawfully obstructed in the performance of his official duties by a mob, and that he needs assistance, immediately to repair to the place where it is apprehended said riot will be had, and there faithfully and truly, with the whole police force under his control, use the same in the most energetic manner possible in support of the laws and the maintenance of the public peace.

THE infamous Black Laws of Indiana, adopted by the late Constitutional Convention, are as follows:

The first section, providing that no negro or mulatto shall come into the State after the adoption of the constitution, passed, 94 to 40.

The second section, making all contracts with them void, and fining all persons employing them, not less than ten or more than five hundred dollars, passed, 78 to 59.

The third section, appropriating the fines collected under this article to the colonization of the negroes now in the State, passed, 106 to 33.

The fifth section, providing that the legislature shall pass laws necessary to carry out this negro article, passed, without the ayes and noes.

The sixth section, requiring the separate submission of this article to the people—"exclusion and colonization of negroes and mulattoes—aye or no," passed, 82 to 54.

IT is almost a miracle that the cause [Anti-Slavery] has survived, not the enmity of the people, but the friendship of all the fools who have unfortunately taken it into their heads that they were Abolitionists. —*National A. S. Standard.*

☞ True, Mr. Gay, and you need not trouble yourself to look out of the Cab in which you ride, to find a number of them same chaps.—*Concord (N. H.) Independent Democrat.*

—The *Democrat* is a civil paper, and never speaks unless it is quite sure it is spoken to.

CATCHING A TARTAR.—Some excitement was caused in Salem, Mass., on Thursday last, by the arrest of a colored man, named Burton, who was taken to Boston as an alleged fugitive slave, but the captors finding that they had seized the wrong man an accusation was brought against him of being concerned in

the rescue of Shadrach. That, however, was also dismissed and Burton returned home, and made arrangements to commence legal proceedings against U. S. District Attorney Lunt for malicious prosecution. We hope he will proceed in such an action.

Domestic Correspondence.

FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23, 1851.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard:

DEAR SIR: When the Senate of the United States, at the close of its session, with but a single week left for the transaction of business of the greatest importance, and imperatively demanded by the country, can afford to lay aside its important and urgent duties to go into a long and exciting discussion of the rescue of a fugitive by a handful of colored people in the city of Boston, and especially when that discussion, after continuing for two days and those the longest sittings of the body during the session, has been postponed barely to give an opportunity for one or two important bills to be taken up and acted on for a single hour, and is then to be resumed, I think the advocates of Freedom may well take courage and rejoice in the progress of their cause. The message of the President was laid before the Senate on Friday, and immediately one of the most exciting debates I have witnessed during the three sessions that I have occupied a seat in the reporters' gallery took place, which, after consuming two entire days, remains unfinished, and has been postponed till Monday, at one o'clock. All the venom and wrath that could be poured out on the "white conspirators" were breathed forth in the Senate Chamber. I need not attempt to sketch the debate, for you have it already in the telegraphic and other reports. Vials of wrath were poured out upon George Thompson, the British emissary; resolutions of Northern meetings were read and commented on; and language could hardly convey the denunciation that was heaped upon the men who had dared to set the laws of the land at defiance. Northern Compromise men joined with their Southern Compromise leader, Henry Clay, and denounced this flagrant act of rebellion. Only a few members, such as Hale, Chase and John Davis, attempted to maintain that the whole affair was premature and ridiculous, and that the occurrence was one that had frequently taken place in every portion of the United States, where a mob had succeeded temporarily in defeating the execution of the law. The great Conservator of the country seems now to be, in the minds of the Compromise men, the Fugitive Slave Law, in connection with the other peace measures, the passage of which it was supposed would put an end to all agitation on the subject of Slavery. But, strange as it may appear, the author of the Compromise measures, Mr. Clay, whose patriotic endeavor was to stop all further agitation, has himself been the very one to bring up almost all the subjects which have produced agitation in the Senate this session. But I will not go into any further account of this discussion, but simply draw, from this state of things, certain conclusions.

It will soon be found, unless some speedy change takes place in the South in regard to Slavery, that it is useless to attempt to harmonize a confederacy and legislate for a country whose interests are so adverse and conflicting. Slavery is the great enemy to the harmony of the States. That institution must soon cease to exist, or the Union must be rent asunder. The Anti-Slavery agitation of the North has grown so powerful, and spread so widely, that it has got possession of the Congress of the United States, and threatens even now to stop the wheels of the government. Such conflicting interests cannot much longer harmonize. Slavery must cease or the Union be rent asunder.

But in either event, there will follow, in my opinion, a great and gigantic stride towards Liberty. And in that gigantic stride, men will not be content to stop half way. They will not give up their consciences to the keeping of the ruler, and obey the laws that their consciences disapprove. The great principle which is developing itself, that every man is his own governor and is not responsible to any human power, nor subject to the control of another, will be more clearly seen and felt, until the individual becomes completely and entirely free. Governments will become obsolete. Legislation will assume to control but a fragment of what it now does. Individual enterprise will have come into successful competition with most of the trusts that are now held by the Government, which will be left to manage only those interests (if such then shall be) which cannot be managed by the individual. The cry of Disunion, on account of the one great evil of Slavery, is only the beginning of the workings of a great principle—the sovereignty of the individual. The individual must and will be free; and in order to attain that freedom, all combinations which in any degree encroach upon that freedom must fail. B.

Congressional.

WE give up a large space in our columns to the report of the exciting debates, on several occasions, in the U. S. Senate, in relation to the rescue in Boston.

MONDAY, February 17.

Mr. Clay offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the President be requested to lay before the Senate, if compatible with the public interest, any information he may possess in regard to the alleged recent case of forcible resistance to the execution of the law of the United States in the city of Boston, and to communicate to the Senate what measures he has adopted to meet the occurrence, and whether, in his opinion, any additional legislation is necessary to meet the exigency of the case, and to more rigorously execute existing laws."

Mr. Seward offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the President be requested, if compatible with the public interest, to communicate any information he may possess concerning the forcible abduction of any citizen of the United States, or of any persons living under their protection, within new territory of New Mexico, and of his conveyance to be ordered into peon servitude in the republic of Mexico."

Both resolutions were laid over.

TUESDAY, February 18.

Mr. Clay's resolution offered yesterday, concerning the Boston affair, was taken up. Mr. Clay explained the objects set forth in the resolution. Any discussion upon the objects of the resolution would be premature until the information called for is obtained. But he could not forbear saying that he had been shocked, astonished, astounded, at the accounts given in the newspapers of late occurrences in the third city of the Union; in the second city as regards wealth.

It was not alone that the laws had been forcibly resisted, that the laws had been put at defiance, but the officers of justice had been beaten down and driven out of the court house, and the person in their custody taken off, and this, too, by a negro mob, in the face of a population of 150,000 persons. Who committed this flagrant outrage? Was it our own race? No, but a band who are not of our people; it was by Africans and descendants of Africans. The question presented by the occurrence was, whether our laws—laws framed for our government, are to be carried into force, or whether a government of white men is to be yielded to a government of blacks. So astounding was the account he could not at first believe it, but a distinguished citizen of Massachusetts had assured him it was true. The Senator from Mississippi, yesterday, after an interview with the two highest officers of government, announced that the law would be enforced. He also had an interview with those officers, and had received the same assurance, that the law would be vigorously enforced. He hoped the resolution would be passed.

Mr. John Davis had read accounts of the occurrence in Boston, which occurrence all must condemn; but before condemning any one, or commanding any one, he would wait for the facts. The law was unpopular and offensive to the people of Massachusetts, but they were a law-abiding people, and they know that it is not by violence that the law is to be overcome; but will abide it till by the proper and legitimate mode it can be altered. While the law would be enforced, freedom of discussion and debate would be insisted upon and maintained.

Mr. Clay—Freedom of debate—on what subject? Debate upon open and impudent violation of the laws of the country?

Mr. Davis said he meant the freedom of discussion and debate upon general merits of the law.

Mr. Clay—Who has opposed the freedom of discussion upon the merits of the law?

Mr. Davis did not allude to the senator, but without the Senate there was a disposition to stifle discussion on the merits of the law.

Mr. Clay said Congress had passed a law to carry into execution the constitutional provision. That law was passed only five months ago by a considerable majority. Congress now says that it will not repeal or modify that law; that time must be given for the law to be tried. Moreover they say that the law will not be repealed particularly when a bold open attempt is made to resist it. He hoped that his remarks had not been offensive to the senator from Massachusetts in speaking in strong and indignant terms of those who invaded the temple of Justice, beat down its guardians, and who, sacrilegiously seizing the sword of Justice, waved it in triumph over the prostrate officers. Whether his remarks were offensive or not, he would at all times speak, offend whom it might, of any gross outrage and resistance of law, whether by black men or white men.

Mr. Davis was as indignant as any one at the occurrence. The people of Massachusetts were a law-abiding people, but at the same time they were a free people, and from the time of the Revolution had insisted on freedom of discussion and inquiry. Their remedy is, to seek by argument and appeal to the ballot box, the repeal of the law. This is the way to overcome offensive law, and not by violence.

Mr. Hale coincided with Mr. Clay in a great part of his indignation; he was sorry, however, a little of it was not heard when the newspapers said a judge in a southern State refused to issue his warrant to execute the law for the recovery of fugitives from justice. No resolution, asking the President if he had heard of it, was then offered; no indignation when bands of armed men paraded the southern States to invade Cuba; nor was any resolution offered when a mob held this city for two days, under the President's nose. He had heard of one in Kentucky, when a printing office was broken up and sent out of the State. He hoped the government was not about taking a short step between the sublime and ridiculous. He hoped the army and navy were not to be sent to Boston to put down a negro mob. It was too ridiculous to believe. It would be better to leave the suppression of such occurrences to the State authorities. No law, when it had not the moral support of the people, whether in Massachusetts or Louisiana, could be enforced, and it was useless to attempt it with the army and navy. George the Third tried that, and his soldiers shot down the citizens in State street; but he did not succeed. He believed the people and authorities of Massachusetts were competent to enforce the laws, and if he was a citizen of Boston, he would consider it an insult if the government presumed that laws could not be enforced.

Mr. Foote said that no judge in Mississippi had refused to execute his duty. He had issued his warrant; the party was arrested, and had presented himself for trial. It was not true that bands of armed men marched through the Southern States to Cuba. There was suspicion of said movement; the government did its duty, by requiring an investigation. Ninety-nine hundredths of the Southern people sustained this government action of enforcing the laws alluded to.

Mr. Jeff. Davis did not believe the Northern States would enforce this law. The government of the United States had power only to resist invasion or suppress insurrection. The insurrection of Pennsylvania was put down by the militia of that State. Such action was contemplated, when the militia of States could be relied on, to put down insurrections. No such reliance could be had now. The law in Massachusetts was not enforced by the Marshal in the first case, yet the Marshal was not removed.

Mr. Foote read from State papers, to show that the suppression of the whisky insurrection was effected by the militia of New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, as well as Pennsylvania.

Mr. John Davis said, that when he said the people of Massachusetts were opposed to the law, and considered it offensive, he did not mean that therefore the laws could not be enforced. All speculations on the necessity of calling in the army and navy were idle; the laws would be enforced.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Walker offered a resolution declaring, in the opinion of the Senate, the annual expenditure of the army and navy have reached an enormous extravagant and unnecessary amount, burdensome on the Treasury and the people; also, that it is the duty of the President to recommend such a plan of reduction as will bring the annual expenses of both within twelve millions of dollars. Laid over.

The postage bill was taken up. The question pending was on Mr. Seward's amendment to establish a uniform rate of two cents, to be pre-paid in every case; and after debate it was rejected, yeas 7. Messrs. Chase, Dickinson, Dodge of Wis., Dodge of Iowa, Hamlin, Seward, Walker. Nays 41.

Mr. Hamlin moved an amendment, that newspapers not over three hundred square inches should go through the mail at one-fourth the rates fixed for newspapers, and explained it as covering the Sunday School papers, &c. Adopted. Adjourned.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Feb. 19, 1851.

To the Senate of the United States:

I have received the resolution of the Senate, of the 18th instant, requesting me to lay before that body, if not incompatible with the public interest, any information I may possess in regard to an alleged recent case of a forcible resistance to the execution of the laws of the United States, in the city of Boston, and to communicate to the Senate, under the above condition, what means I have adopted to meet the occurrences, and whether, in my opinion, any additional legislation is necessary to meet the exigency of the case, and to more vigorously execute the existing laws. The public newspapers contain an affidavit of Patrick Riley, a Deputy Marshal for the District of Massachusetts, setting forth the circumstances of the case—a copy of which affidavit is herewith communicated. Private and unofficial communications concur in establishing the main facts of this account; but no satisfactory official information has, as yet, been received; and, in some important respects, the accuracy of the accounts has been denied by persons whom it implicates. Nothing could be more unexpected than that such a gross violation of law—such a high handed contempt of the authority of the United States—should be perpetrated by a band of lawless confederates at noon day, in the city of Boston, and in the very temple of justice. I regard this flagitious proceeding as being a surprise not unattended by some degree of negligence; nor do I doubt that, if any such act of violence had been apprehended, thousands of the good citizens of Boston would have presented themselves, voluntarily and promptly, to prevent it; but the danger does not seem to have been timely made known or duly appreciated, by those who were concerned in the execution of the process in a community distinguished for its love of order and respect for the laws—among a people whose sentiment is Liberty and Law, and not Liberty without Law, nor above the Law. Such an outrage could only be the result of sudden violence, unhappily too much unprepared for to be successfully resisted. It would be melancholy, indeed, if we were obliged to regard this outbreak against the constitutional and legal authority of the government as proceeding from the general feeling of the people on a spot which is proverbially called the cradle of American liberty. Such, undoubtedly is not the fact. It violates, without question, the general sentiment of the people of Boston, and of a vast majority of the whole people of Massachusetts, as much as it violates the law; defies the authority of the government, and disgraces those concerned in it, their aiders and abettors. It is, nevertheless, my duty to lay before the Senate, in answer to its resolution, some important facts and considerations connected with the subject. A resolution of Congress, of September 23d, 1789, declared that it be recommended to the Legislatures of the several States to pass laws making it expressly the duty of the keepers of their jails to receive, and keep safe therein, all prisoners committed under the authority of the United States, until they shall be discharged by due course of the laws thereof, under the like penalties as in the case of prisoners committed under the authority of such States respectively,—the United States to pay for the use and keeping of such jails, at the rate of fifty cents per month for each prisoner that shall, under their authority, be committed thereto during the time such prisoners shall be therein confined, and also to support such of said prisoners as shall be committed for offences. A further resolution of Congress, of the third of March, 1791, provides that "whereas Congress did, by a resolution of the twenty-third day of September, 1789, recommend to the several States to pass laws making it expressly the duty of the keepers of their jails to receive and safe keep therein all prisoners committed under the authority of the United States, in order, therefore, to insure the administration of justice—Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that in case any State shall not have complied with the said recommendation, the Marshal in such State, under the direction of the judge of the district, be authorized to hire a convenient place to serve as a temporary jail, and to make the necessary provision for the safe keeping of prisoners committed under the authority of the United States, until permanent provision shall be made by law for that purpose; and the said Marshal shall be allowed his reasonable expenses incurred for the above purposes, to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States;" and a resolution of Congress of March 3d, 1821, provides that "where any State or States having complied with the recommendation of Congress in the resolution of the 23d day of September, 1789, shall have withdrawn, or shall hereafter withdraw, either in whole or in part, the use of their jails for prisoners committed under the authority of the United States, the Marshal in such State or States shall be and is hereby authorized and required to hire a convenient place to serve as a temporary jail, and to make the necessary provision for the safe keeping of prisoners committed under the authority of the United States, until permanent provision shall be made by law for that purpose, and the said Marshal shall be allowed his reasonable expenses incurred for the above purposes, to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States. These various provisions of the law remain unrepealed. By the law of Massachusetts, as that law stood before the act of the Legislature of that State, of the 4th of March, 1843, the common jails in the respective counties were to be used for the detention of any prisoners detained or committed by the authority of the courts of the United States, as well by the courts and magistrates of the State; but these provisions were abrogated and repealed by the act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, of the 24th of March, 1843. That act declares that no judge of any court of record of this commonwealth, and no justice of the peace, shall, hereafter, take cognizance, or grant certificates, in cases that may arise under the third section of an act of Congress passed February 12th, 1793, and entitled "An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters, to any person who claims any other person as a fugitive slave within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth;" and it further declares, that "No sheriff, deputy sheriff, coroner, constable, jailor, or other officer of this commonwealth, shall hereafter arrest or detain, or aid in the arrest or detention, or imprisonment in any jail, or other building belonging to this commonwealth, or to any country, city, or town thereof, of any person for the reason that he is claimed as a fugitive slave;" and it further declares, that "Any justice of the peace, sheriff, deputy sheriff, coroner, constable, jailor, who shall offend against the provisions of this law, by in any way acting, directly or indirectly, under the power conferred by the third section of the act of Congress afore mentioned, shall forfeit a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, for every such offence, for the use of the county where said offence is committed, or shall be subject to imprisonment not exceeding one year in the county jail." This law, it is obvious, had two objects. The first was to make it a penal offence in all officers and magistrates of the commonwealth to exercise the powers conferred on them by the act of Congress of the 12th of February, 1793, entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," and which powers they were fully competent to perform up to the time of this inhibition and penal enactment; second to refuse the use of the jails of the State for the retention of any person claimed as a fugitive slave. It is deeply to be lamented that the purpose of these enactments is quite apparent. It was to prevent, so far as the Legislature of the State could prevent, the laws of Congress (passed for the purpose of carrying into effect that article of the constitution of the United States, which declares that "No person, held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due,) from being carried into effect. But these acts of State legislation, although they may cause embarrassments and create expense cannot derogate either from the duty or the authority of Congress to carry out fully and fairly the plain and imperative constitutional provision for the delivery of persons bound to labor in one State, and escaping into another, to the party to whom such labor may be due. It is quite clear that, by the resolution of Congress of 3d March, 1821, the Marshal of the United States, in any State in which the use of the jails of the State has been withdrawn, in whole or in part, from the purpose of the detention of persons committed under the authority of the United States, is not only empowered, but expressly required, under the direction of the Judge of the district, to hire a convenient place for the safe keeping of prisoners committed under authority of the United States. It will be seen from papers accompanying this communication, that the attention of the Marshal of Massachusetts was distinctly called to this provision of the law by a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, of the date of October 28th last. There is no official information that the Marshal has provided any such place for the confinement of his prisoners. If he has not, it is to be regretted that this power was not exercised by the Marshal, under the direction of the District Judge, immediately on the passage of the act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, of the 24th March, 1843; and especially that it was not exercised on the passage of the Fugitive Slave law of the last session, or when the attention of the Marshal was afterwards particularly drawn to it. It is true that the escape from the Deputy Marshal in this case was not owing to the want of a prison or place of confinement; but still it is not easy to see how the prisoner could have been safely and conveniently detained, during an adjournment of the hearing for some days, without such place of confinement. If it shall appear that no such place has been obtained, directions to the Marshal will be given to lose no time in the discharge of this duty.

I transmit to the Senate the copy of a proclamation issued by me on the 18th instant, in relation to those unexpected and deplorable occurrences in Boston together with copies of instructions from the departments of War and Navy relative to the general subject, and also copies of telegraphic despatches transmitted from the Department of State to the District Attorney and Marshal of the United States for the District of Massachusetts, and their answers thereto.

In regard to the law branch of the enquiry made by the resolution of the Senate, I have to observe that the Constitution declares that the President shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and that he shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the States when called into the actual service of the United States; and that Congress shall have power to provide for calling for the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions—from which it appears that the army and navy are, by the Constitution, placed under the control of the executive, and probably no legislation of Congress could add to or diminish the power thus given, but by increasing or diminishing, or abolishing altogether the army or navy. But not so with the militia. The President cannot call out the militia into service even to repel invasions, but by the authority of acts of Congress passed for that purpose; but when the militia are called into service in the manner prescribed by law, the Constitution itself gives the command to the President. Acting on this principle, Congress, by the act of February 28, 1795, authorized the President to call forth the militia to repel invasion and suppress insurrections against a State government, and to suppress combinations against the laws of the United States, and cause laws to be faithfully executed. But that act proceeds to declare that, whenever it may be necessary in the judgment of the President to use the military force thereby directed to be called forth, the President shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time. These words are broad enough to require a proclamation in all cases where the militia are called out under that act, whether to repel invasion, or suppress an insurrection, or to aid in executing the laws. This section causes some doubt whether the militia could be called forth in executing the laws without a proclamation; but yet the proclamation seems to be in words directed only against insurgents, and to require them to disperse, thereby implying not only an insurrection, but an organized, or at least an embodied force. Such a proclamation, in aid of the civil authority, would often defeat the whole object, by giving such notice to persons intended to be arrested that they would be enabled to fly or secrete themselves. The force may be wanted sometimes to make the arrest, and also sometimes to protect the officer after it is made, and to prevent a rescue. I would, therefore, suggest that this section be modified, by declaring that nothing therein contained shall be construed to require any previous proclamation, when the militia are called forth either to repel invasion, to execute the laws, or suppress combinations against them; and that the President may make such call, and place such militia under the control of any civil officer of the United States, to aid him in executing the laws, or suppressing such combinations; and while so employed they shall be paid by and subsisted at the expense of the United States. Congress not probably adverting to any difference between the militia and the regular army, by the act of March 3, 1807, authorizes the President to use the land and naval force of the United States for the same purposes for which he might call forth the militia, and subject to the same proclamation. But the power of the President, under the Constitution, as commander of the army and navy, is general, and his duty to see the laws faithfully executed is general and positive, and the act of 1807 ought not to be construed as evincing any disposition of Congress to limit or restrain this constitutional authority. However, it may be well that Congress should modify or explain this act in regard to its provisions for the employment of the army and navy of the United States, as well as that in regard to calling forth the militia. It is supposed not to be doubtful that all citizens, whether enrolled in the militia or not, may be summoned as members of the *posse comitatus*, either by the Marshal or a commissioner, according to law, and that it is their duty to obey such summons. But perhaps it may be doubted whether the Marshal or a commissioner can summon as the *posse comitatus* an organized militia force, acting under its own appropriate officers, without the consent of such officers. This point may deserve the consideration of Congress.

I use the occasion to repeat the assurance that so far as depends on me, the laws shall be faithfully executed and all forcible opposition to them suppressed; and to this end I am prepared to exercise, whenever it may become necessary, the power constitutionally invested in me to the fullest extent. I am fully persuaded that the great majority of the people of this country are warmly and strongly attached to the Constitution, the preservation of the Union, the support of the Government, and the maintenance of the authority of Law. I am persuaded that their earnest wishes, and the line of my constitutional duty, entirely concur; and I doubt not that firmness, moderation and prudence, strengthened and animated by the general opinion of the people, will prevent the repetition of occurrences disturbing the public peace, and reprobated by all good men.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Mr. Clay arose and said that he had listened with great pleasure to the message; its general tone, and firm resolution to execute the laws, will be satisfactory to every one. He regretted the message did not say that the Marshal had been dismissed; but he had reason to believe the President is subjecting the conduct of the marshal to a scrutiny which will end in his dismissal. He had been gratified to witness the general execution of this law; it had been executed in Indiana, under peculiarly difficult circumstances, and also in Ohio; in repeated instances it was executed in Pennsylvania, in its capital and in Philadelphia; it was executed also in the great metropolis of the Union, New York; it had been executed everywhere, except in Boston, where it had failed on two occasions. When the first failure occurred, he looked with anxiety to the next case, in order to see if the law would or would not be executed; and was greatly surprised to hear that the law had been resisted by a lawless mob, who had entered the court house, and rescued from the officers of justice a person legally in their custody. When he had made allusion to the blacks and their outrageous conduct in this matter, he likewise meant to include in his denunciation the conduct of those, whether in high or low places, who, by their speech or advice, induced, led on, and instigated these poor, deluded creatures to this open violation of the law. He expressed the hope that, if there were defects in existing laws, provision be made by which those who instigate, induce, persuade, and lead on these miserable wretches to such acts of violence, will be brought to condign punishment. He gave to the suggestions of the President his earnest support, and moved that the message be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Hale said he was glad that the message had been sent in—if for no other reason, because it showed that the President felt that his administration had made itself ridiculous by issuing the proclamation; and the document just read was nothing more than a labored essay to prove that the proclamation was necessary.—The idea of the great republic of the United States calling on its army and navy to assemble and hold themselves in readiness to put down a mob composed of a mere handful of negroes, was ridiculous in the extreme. Boston has a population of one hundred and forty thousand, and within the sound of the bell on the old State House there resided half a million of people. In all Boston there were not over one thousand adult negroes, and they were doubtless skulking in alleys to avoid meeting the constable. It was useless to attempt to magnify this affair into something of consequence; it was too absurd. He considered the proclamation of the President improper, unwise, impolitic, unnecessary, and very weak; with it he would have nothing to do.

Mr. Clay remarked that the conduct of the Senator from New Hampshire did not surprise him; it was in conformity with his general course. The Senator had pronounced a deliberate act of the President as ridiculous. Now, there were two opinions on that subject, as there were two opinions on another subject, namely the oratorical fame and influence of a Senator. On this last question, the opinion entertained by the member was one thing; while that entertained of his oratorical powers, and the influence of those powers, was quite a different one. The Senator seemed to make it a point to rise always after him, (Mr. C.,) as if to dispute with him for the palm of eloquence and oratory. He had no ambition to contest this with the Senator: he relinquished to him, cheerfully, all the glory he could expect in such a contest; and he hoped the Senator would receive the relinquishment with the self-complacency with which he always rose to address the Senate. This mob was styled a mere handful of negroes. Did any beside the Senator suppose that none but the negroes were concerned in the violation of law? The proclamation was directed to the enforcement of the law, and at those who took no active part in the mob, yet encouraged, excited and urged the negroes on to this outrage of the laws of the country. It was said, however, men other than negroes actually engaged in the mob; it was said that one negro—a white negro—stood at the door and beckoned them to come in. It was at such persons as these—who, by their counsel and advice, their instigations and solicitations, lectures and speeches, here and in the other house, induced transgressions of the law—that this proclamation was aimed. Not only are these negroes made the catspaw of miserable and designing men, to bring odium on the laws, and violate justice and its officers, but there has been introduced a man named Thompson, who was said to be a member of the British Parliament, to disturb and agitate the people—and that police which could find time and the means to attend and protect this foreign emissary in his disunion addresses, could not give their aid to execute a law of the United States. He little supposed that any member of this Congress would be tolerated a moment in England, who would go to Birmingham or to Manchester and there denounce the law of primogeniture, the aristocracy, and the crown itself. Such a man would be justly denounced by every loyal British subject, and he would be put out of the country; and here this Thompson is received with open arms—encouraged by men professing to be Americans, in preaching sedition and disunion. He had more desire in having these men brought to justice than the poor deluded negroes.

Mr. Mason remarked that the duty of surrendering fugitives from labor and service, was a duty imposed by the constitution; a part of the compact subscribed by all the States in forming the Union. He took issue with the Senator from Kentucky, on the question whether the law was executed or not. He regarded the law, so far as its practical execution was concerned, a dead letter. He had full belief in the declaration of the President, that he would execute the law if he could; the President, however, had begun wrong in the first case.—When Crafts escaped, the slaves were lost to their masters by one of the evasions, prevarications and delays of those whose duty it was to enforce the law and administer justice. It was the duty of the President immediately to have dismissed the Marshal. The law, if it was to be enforced, must be executed with alacrity, zeal, and certainty; it must be executed with a desire on the part of the people among whom it is expected to have it carried out, because it is law, and without any obstacles or obstructions being thrown in the way of its execution. In this case the party was arrested, and time was given to him (probably, perhaps,) to make his defence; there was no place prepared in which to confine him, and, it being the intention to keep him in the court room from Friday to Tuesday, how could his rescue have been prevented? The laws of Massachusetts prohibit the imprisonment of parties under this law in the jails of the commonwealth. He thought it wrong to denounce the population of Boston, when, by the laws of Massachusetts, it is made a penal offence for any of that population to aid or abet in the arrest or imprisonment of the fugitive. The Senator from Kentucky was right in denouncing the conduct of those engaged in this open resistance, but he should have gone one step further, and denounced the State of Massachusetts as false to her federal obligations.—She was false to those obligations, for making which she received a consideration. She agreed to surrender these fugitives, and received a consideration; her Legislature has been in session since the passage of the Fugitive Slave law, and those laws preventing the execution of the provisions of the constitution still stand on her statute book. The Senator from Massachusetts remarked the other day that the people of that State were law-abiding, and would not resist the execution of the law. He would ask the Senator whether those citizens by not resisting forcibly the law, were discharging their federal obligations to render up fugitives from labor or service? If they were, it was keeping the word of promise to the United States, but a failure in complying with its demands. When the Senator from Kentucky said the law was generally executed, if he meant it was executed without resistance, he was correct; but if he intended to say that it was executed with the alacrity or in the spirit of the federal compact, he mistook. In conclusion, Mr. Mason detailed the circumstances of the Harrisburg case, where the expenses amounted to $1450, and the negroes, when sold, brought $1500—thus making a balance in favor of the master of $50. In the Long case, at New York, the expenses amounted to nearly the value of the slave, and besides, the claimant was subjected to several vexations suits. He respectfully called the attention of the appointing power to the various delays and evasions of the law by government officers, and recommended that the least evidence of this should be cause for instant removal.

Mr. Dickinson remarked, that the Senator from Virginia was in error in regard to Long. In that case there were no suits against the claimant; and in that case he considered that the issue was fairly made up and tried between those who desired that the law should be executed, and those who intended peaceably to resist it. The latter had been defeated. The case of Long did much to prove that this law could be executed with the patient hearing given to that case. In time, others will be likely to arise which will produce difficulty. The law was to be tested; its force was to be tried; and the question having been judicially settled, it would not be again idly agitated. Fugitive Slave law was denounced, in the case of Long, as unconstitutional, and as suspending the habeas corpus; and this was the cry of every demagogue and fanatic. The case of Long showed how untrue and groundless were those declarations.

Mr. Hale remarked that Mr. Clay had charged him with always rising after him, in debate with a view of contesting the palm of oratory and eloquence. This remark of the Senator explained a slander which had been circulated about him, which was, that he (Mr. Hale) always took occasion to speak when the galleries were filled with ladies. The observation of the Senator explained the slander.

Mr. Clay—"Do you mean to say that I have circulated a slander about you?"

Mr. Hale—"Not at all sir."

Mr. Clay—"Well what do you mean, sir."

Mr. Hale—"I will not answer any question put to me in that tone, in or out of the Senate. I am not to be silenced or put down by any one, whether a tall or short man." Mr. H. denied that he had any intention of contesting for the palm of oratory with the Senator from Kentucky. With regard to his opinion of himself, and the opinion entertained of him by others, he freely admitted that there might be two opinions; but he did not think he would have to get out of the Senate to find the man who could say, that of the Senator from Kentucky there was more than one opinion.—What he (Mr. H.) meant by saying that the slander against him was explained by the remark of the Senator, was, that together they showed that the Senator selected such occasions himself.

Mr. Cass joined with Mr. Clay in his condemnation of the recent proceedings. He was not a defender of the Administration, but he had the utmost confidence in believing that the President would do his duty. If the laws were defective, he would vote to clothe him with full power to execute the law. He deprecated the remarks of the Senator from Virginia, that this law could not, was not, and would not be executed. He considered that the Massachusetts laws obstructing the execution of this law, ought to have been cleared off her statute-books long ago; but whether they were repealed or not, they could not prevent the execution of this law. The Senator from Virginia was wrong in supposing that voluntary action by the people of the free States was necessary to a due execution of the law. He considered that in Long's case, though time was given, the law worked smoothly. The slaves could not be expected to submit at once. He referred to the conduct of the miscreant Thompson, and said that if a member of Congress should do in England what Thompson had done in this country, he would be sent to Botany Bay.

Mr. Mason rejoined, that of the thirty Senators from the free States, only three had voted for the law. They were the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Sturgeon,) and the Senators from Iowa.

Mr. Dickinson said he was present, and would have voted for the law, but his colleague—who opposed it, was called home—and himself had agreed to pair off. He had made a speech in favor of the bill, and would have voted for it but for the reason stated. That there was a strong, an all powerful feeling in the country in favor of the execution of the Fugitive Slave law he had no doubt.

Mr. Clay made a few hits at Mr. Hale.

Mr. Butler considered further the general sentiment of the Northern people as hostile to Southern institutions, and that the law would never be carried out fully.

Mr. John Davis remarked that he did not think such a case had occurred as called for the extraordinary proceedings now contemplated. The Supreme Court had relieved Massachusetts from all obligations to execute this provision of the Constitution, by deciding that it was the duty of the United States, and not of the States to execute it.

Mr. Badger replied that the general proceedings in Massachusetts, for years, had now come to a crisis; and the question whether the laws and Constitution, or the fanaticism of public bars and lecture-rooms was to prevail. The President might have done more, but could not have done less.

Mr. Downs believed the law could be, and had been executed.

No question was taken, nor did there appear to be a termination of the debate, when the Senate adjourned.

MONDAY, February 24, 1851.

The Senate took up the President's Message, and, on a motion to refer it,

Mr. Berrien denounced the occurrence in Boston as the result of preconcerted action, of whites and blacks combined, to defeat this law. He reviewed the whole subject of the Fugitive Slave provision of the constitution, the laws of Congress, the legislation of the free States, and the decisions by the Supreme Court on the subject. He believed the law had been executed everywhere except in Boston. He took up the subject of abolition societies in the free States, and contended that as there was nothing for such societies to operate on within their own States, their direct tendency was to cause disruption in sister States, and they should be put down by the States themselves. Such conduct, if the States were not united, would be violative of the laws of nations, and would be the cause of hostilities. The United States had by laws, prohibited Americans from interfering in the Canadian and Texas revolutions, and persons were now on trial in the South for an alleged violation of the laws prohibiting our citizens from interfering with or disturbing the political relations of a foreign nation. If abolition societies would be causes of hostilities in case the States were foreign to each other, how much stronger was the necessity and propriety of the States of the Union, by their individual legislation, to repress this species of agitation? He advocated that the President be armed with power sufficient to enforce the laws. If the people of the free States should refuse to allow the laws to be enforced, and rejected all appeals in behalf of those just relations which should exist between the States, mutual hostile legislation must ensue, and the result would be the destruction of the Union.

Mr. Dickinson believed it to be the duty of the free States to legislate for the execution of the Fugitive Slave law, and that they should provide for the summary punishment of any man who would obstruct its execution.

Mr. Rhett did not believe the law would be enforced or had been enforced—and judging from the concluding remarks of the Senator from Georgia, he did not believe it could be executed.

Mr. Berrien begged the Senator not to draw any such inference from his remarks.

Mr. Rhett did not believe the law could be executed, even with all the arms and force of the government. He did not believe any law could be enforced unless the sentiment of the people among whom it was to be executed, was in unison with the execution of the law. It could not be executed amongst a people where there was a formidable minority opposed to it. Forcible resistance might not take place; but it could be evaded by swelling costs—by counter suits—by concealing the fugitive, to enable him to avoid the process, and by false swearing. The law had not been executed. It was stated that there were 3,000 fugitives in the free States, and in the last nine months some ten or fifteen only had been recaptured. He thought the South had lost her great remedy, which was in the constitution, by taking the one proposed by acts of Congress. He read from the constitution the two clauses—one, that fugitives from labor shall be delivered up; the other, that fugitives from justice shall be delivered up, on demand by the executive. The constitution contained no provision granting Congress power to execute these clauses. Congress had no powers but those expressly granted. He considered that these two clauses were to be executed by the States themselves and not by Congress. Every other clause which gave Congress power, contains an express provision to that effect. Who could doubt but the acts of 1793, 1795 and 1850, for the delivery of fugitives, were wholly unconstitutional? If left to the States, the constitution would have been executed. A provision could have been made with them as was done with Great Britain, that slaves should be returned, or they should pay for them. Great Britain did pay for them. The same could be done with free States. They would have been obliged to have given up these fugitives, or pay for them; and if they refused, he would hold out to them the alternative to deliver the fugitive, or dissolve the Union. He read the acts of 1793 for the delivery of fugitive slaves, and for the rendition of fugitives from justice and contended that they were wholly unconstitutional for Congress had nothing to do with the execution of either of those clauses—the duty of executing them being wholly with the several States. He read also from the decision of the Supreme Court, maintaining the constitutionality of these acts, and condemned that decision as false logic, and real consolidation doctrine. His readings of history taught him that the judiciary never yet have interfered between encroachments of power and the people. The Supreme Court never have yet condemned usurpation of power by legislatures. The Alien and Sedition laws, the acts for the Bank of the United States, and the Bankrupt acts,—all were passed over by the Supreme Court, and not annulled. Perhaps he might be charged with being in close connection in principle with abolitionists. Let that imputation, or any other, be made—he had been too long in public life to be influenced by any epithets or imputations upon his conduct. The Abolitionists, notwithstanding these laws, have everything their own way; and, they, doubtless, would prefer to have an army sent to Boston,—to have the militia of other States march in—and by the strong arm of the general government crush a sovereignty. But if this law were not an act of Congress—if the execution of this clause were left to the States who rightfully possessed it—the South could say to the North, "there is the constitution; your duty is a plain one—execute it or we dissolve the Union." The Union, then, would be in the hands of the North. The friends of the Abolitionists were those who were in action and urging a consolidation of power. The Senator, whose seat he occupied, years ago told the then Senator from Massachusetts that the inevitable result of his policy was to create a power at the North, which, once aroused would ostracise those who raised it; and well it was that that individual was at the other end of the avenue, for if he was now before his Legislature, he would be rejected by an overwhelming majority. He repudiated those who were in favor of consolidation who were friends of the Abolitionists—who were for constantly enlarging the powers of government. He cited the act of the last session as a great act of consolidation, by which the South was ignominiously stript of all her share in the acquired possessions. The South took equal part in conquering those rich lands, and Congress excluded the South, but threw them open to Abolitionists and foreigners of every tongue, and then to convicts from Botany Bay. After passing these acts of consolidation you then cried out—All hail! Peace and concord reigns! You now propose to arm the President to enforce the laws, by placing the military of the United States under command of a Deputy Marshal. This was not the way to strengthen the bonds of union. Act after act is weakening the bonds of the Union; and the effect will be to create two people, hating and frowning at each other. All fraternal feeling for the North had ceased in the State he represented. He then alluded to the democratic party, its course at the last session, and condemned that course. He had been twenty years endeavoring to place the democratic party on the true republican platform. If this march of consolidation were on the wheels of the Union, it would go on, taking power after power, till it would become so heavy that it would fall with a mighty crash.

Mr. Clay said, that when the Message was received from the President, he rose to express his satisfaction of it, which satisfaction he was sure would be felt by all except ultras, North and South; he anticipated no such discussion as has taken place; he introduced no such discussion as had taken place. The Senator from South Carolina had gravely informed the Senate that Congress had no powers except those granted by the constitution. A lawyer once was stating the same fundamental doctrines, and was proceeding to show they had existed from the time of Moses, when the Chief Justice blandly told him the Court was presumed to know something. The Senator from South Carolina should presume the Senate knew something. He then examined the constitution, and argued at length that Congress had full power to execute any provision of it.

The Senator had spoken of consolidationists and Federalists ruining the country; this was the fault of the Senator's whole school; they lay down what they consider the powers of Congress, and any one who differs from them is for consolidation. No one but the Senators from South Carolina and Ohio—Messrs. Rhett and Chase—doubted the power of Congress on this subject, and against these were the Congress of 1793, that of 1850, and the Supreme Court. The Senator and his friends talk of stretching the Constitution as if they were judges to decide how far was stretching and how far was not. What weak, erring man, will dare to rise and declare that this or that is the meaning of the Constitution, when the wisdom of the country have repeatedly acted differently? The Senator talked of being a "States right man." Whenever he saw these gentry rise, and talk of being "States right men," he felt as Junius said he always did when he saw a Scotchman smile. (Laughter) He would ask those who deny the existence of any power unless expressly in the Constitution, where was the power of one State to nullify the acts of the Union, or to secede?

Mr. Rhett said he would like to know if he could reply to those remarks after the Senator was done.

Mr. Clay said he desired a vote on this subject at once; but whenever the Senator desired it, he was ready to meet him in argument on these topics. He then enlarged on the proceedings in Boston, and replied to Messrs. Chase, Mason and others.

Mr. John Davis followed, denying that this case was one calling for the exercise of extraordinary powers.

Mr. Downs replied to Mr. Rhett, about the democratic party abandoning the true platform. South Carolina was no model for the Democratic party.

Mr. Jefferson Davis and Mr. Downes continued the debate, and at half-past six the message was referred—yeas 34, nays none. The Senate then adjourned.

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THE GREAT UNION MEETING.

A full, particular and most veracious account of the Great and Enthusiastic Mass Union Meeting of 200 Citizens, held at Tarrytown, Westchester County, State of New York.

BY JAMES STILLMAN.

THE fearful crisis now is past;
The chain will not be broken
That binds our Union tight and fast,
For Tarrytown has spoken!
Two hundred wise and valiant men
All then and there assembled;
While Treason slunk within its den,
And listened, heard and trembled.

There were made speeches loud and long,
Well worth a fellow's hearing;
And when the speakers put it strong,
O, cracky! what a cheering.
The logic, scorning common sense,
Beat all in Aristotle,
Tho', sooth to say, the eloquence
Smelt strangely of the bottle.

Oh sadly edifying 'twas
To find as plain as figures
To what a melancholy case
Freedom would bring the Niggers:
For if the skin is dark, you see,
It only brings disaster,
Cause why, such can't have wit to be
Of their ownselves the master.

Some got their tempers pretty warm
At times 'bout Abolition,
And piously, the unholy swarm
Devoted to perdition!
Down with the traitors! down! they cried,
Or quickly will be sundered
This Union, now our hope and pride—
Jerusalem! how they thundered.

They read a letter from great 'Dan,'
Black Dan,' as some folk name him,
Lauding the compromising plan,
And flogging those who blame him;
And also one was read from Clay,
The 'MIGHTY COMPROMISER,'
Thro' which we hope some went away
A little bit the wiser!

From Paulding, Carpenter, and Brooks,
From Nelson, Anthon, Kemble,
And Benedict, which read like books,
And made opponents tremble;
And Dickinson, who represents
The Old Hunkerian gristle,
And bone and sinew, likewise sent
A very sage epistle.

But Dan's the Godlike, Glorious Dan,
His was a wondrous writing:
He must have been an inspired man
While he was it inditing.
Such wise conclusions thence we draw
That filled with inward light, he
Proves, higher is a Congress law
Than that of God Almighty!

But I to end, must labor hard;
Still to omit I loth am,
Those two great lawyer men, Gerard
And Brady, both of Gotham,
Who did explain what law doth mean
And Constitution teaches,
And whipt the Seward party clean
In most stupendous speeches.

Alas! 'till then I could not see
My Anti-slavish errors;
But Universal Liberty
I find's beset with terrors.
That notion, I'll no more dispute,
Springeth alone from knavery,
And that nothing yields such wholesome fruit
As the Upas tree of Slavery!

The meeting did enraptured grow,
Loud was the acclamation,
For by the ears they'd the right sow,
And wrought the world's salvation!
They had scotch'd the Abolition snake,
Stop'd Anti-Slavery's capers,
And would by this their memories make
Immortal———in the papers

And so they'd be, if I could give
Their names a niche in story;
Embalmed should their memories live,
Like mummies cased in glory!
Yet 'tis not right for fame, perhaps,
Alone to act the toady,
For empty praise won't grease the chaps
Or fatten any body.

That doctrine surely must be right,
Tho' discontent will sputter,
Which patriotism does requite
With the public bread and butter
How good it is to sweeten toil,
Who cares for approbation:
While to the victors is the spoil
And Plunder of the nation!

Hurrah, hurrah for Tarrytown
And the "Union Committee;"
These mighty ones of high renown
In Gotham's famous City.
May we forever have the skill
The Southerners to gammon;
Vive Humbug, Slavery, Blarney, still,
Hypocrisy and Mammon!

Miscellany.

From a Correspondent of the Evening Post.

Mr. Sparks and Gen. Washington.

I HAVE scarcely recovered from the surprise into which I was thrown a few days since, while comparing some original letters of General Washington with the copies given by Sparks, in the twelve volume edition of the work published by him several years since, entitled the "Writings of Washington." Till recently I had never entertained a doubt but these were the genuine writings of our first President, and I should probably have remained of the same opinion till this time, had I not heard that Hallam, whose well trained eye nothing in the departments of historical writing can escape, had remarked a striking difference between some of the letters given by Sparks and letters purporting to be the same, found in other compilations.

With a view of testing the truth of this criticism, and of seeing where the responsibility for the change rested, if any had been made, I procured a copy of the "Life and Correspondence" of Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia, who, you may remember, was for a long time Washington's Military Secretary, and always his most intimate personal friend and confidential correspondent. These volumes, edited by Mr. Reed's grandson, were published about four years ago, and contain a large number of letters from Washington, which I happen to know were transcribed from the originals still in possession of the editor, with verbal and literal exactness. The originals were furnished many years ago to Mr. Sparks, for his use in preparing his work, as appears by a note in Mr. Reed's first volume (p. 125), which contains an extract of a letter to that effect from Mr. Sparks. As the note is a little curious in this connection, I give it entire:

"In a letter from Professor Sparks to the author, dated 21st February, 1838, he says: 'The letters "from Washington to your grandfather, in '75 and "'76, which you were so kind as to send to me, and "a selection from which I printed, seemed to me the "most imperfect I had ever seen from his pen. They "were evidently written in great haste, in perfect "confidence, and without any thought that they "would ever be published. I used more caution in "selecting from these letters than from any others."

Mr. Reed then adds: "These letters are now for "the first time published *entire*." Mr. Sparks' edition had been published some ten years previous.

Knowing, as I did, that Mr. Reed's transcript was literally and verbally correct, except where the change was indicated, I proceeded to compare some of the letters with the same letters as given by Sparks, and to my utter surprise I found every one had been altered, in what seemed to me important particulars. I found that he had not only attempted to correct the probable oversights and blunders of General Washington, but he had undertaken to improve his style and chasten his language; nay, he had in some instances gone so far as to change his meaning, and to make him the author of sentiments precisely the opposite of what he intended to write.

Permit me to give you a few illustrations: Washington writes, "By a letter of the 21st instant, from Wooster," Sparks thinks Wooster entitled to have a handle to his name, and so he just puts it "General Wooster."

Washington wrote: "The four thousand men "destined for Boston, on the 5th, if the Ministerial-"ist had attempted our works on Dorchester, or the "lines at Roxbury, were to have been headed by Old "Put." Mr. Sparks puts it Dorchester *Heights*, and says the men "were to have been headed by *General Putnam*."

Washington wrote: "Our *rascally* privateersmen go on at the old rate." "Rascally" is stricken out by Mr. Sparks, who, also, in the same letter, denies to Col. Enos the epithet "noble," bestowed upon him by Washington.

The words in the parenthesis were stricken out of the following sentence by Sparks. Washington was speaking of the King's Speech in Dec. 1775:

"A volume of them was sent out by the Boston "gentry, and, farcical enough, we gave great joy to "them (the red coats I mean) without knowing or "intending it."

Again: "Search the *vast* volumes of history "through, and I much question whether a case simi-"lar to ours is to be found." Mr. Sparks strikes out "vast," the word that gives great impressiveness and dignity to the expression.

"My business," says Washington, "increases very "fast, and my distresses, for want of you, *along with* "*it*." Mr. Sparks says: "and my distresses increase with it."

"He has *wrote*, however, by the last post to see if "his return cannot be dispensed with." Mr. Sparks renders thus: "He has *written* by the last post to "*ascertain*," &c.

Speaking of attacking Boston, Washington said, "I believe an assault would be attended with con-"siderable loss, and I believe it would succeed if the "men would behave well. *Without it, unless there* "*is equally bad behavior on the other side, we cannot.*" The sentence in italics is not given by Sparks.

Washington wrote: "As I thought it a matter of "the last importance to secure the *command* of the "North River, I did not *think* it expedient to coun-"termand the raising of the *Continental* regiments."

Mr. Sparks endeavors to improve upon his author by inserting "communication" in the place of "command," "deem" in the place of "think," and "Connecticut" in the place of "Continental."

Washington writes, from the camp at Cambridge: "The account given of your navy, at the same time "that it is unfavorable to our wishes, is a little pro-"voking to me, inasmuch as it has deprived us of a "*necessary article*, which otherwise would have been "sent hither." He refers to powder, of which he had stood in great need for a long time, or for which only, he was waiting to attack Boston. Mr. Sparks has "necessary articles," instead of a "necessary article," which Washington neither wrote nor meant to write.

"In the same letter, Jan. 31, 1776, Washington wrote: "I hope my countrymen (of Virginia) will "rise superior to any losses the whole navy of Great "Britain can bring on them, and that the destruc-"tion of Norfolk, and threatened devastation of "other places, will have no other effect, than to "unite the whole country in one indissoluble *band* "*against a nation which seems to be lost to every sense* "*of virtue, and those feelings which distinguish a* "*civilized people from the most barbarous savages.*" Mr. Sparks prefers that Washington should have said "indissoluble bond" instead of "band," and that he should not have made the severe reflection upon the mother country, contained in the rest of the sentence. He accordingly leaves out all after the words "indissoluble bond."

In a letter written a few days after, but which Mr. Sparks, with more than customary editorial license, chooses to make a postcript of its predecessor, General Washington, after stating a plan which he had formed for an attack upon Boston says: "Whe-"ther circumstances will admit of the trial, and if "tried, what will be the *event*, the All-Wise Disposer "of Events alone can tell." Mr. Sparks utterly spoils the antithetical force of the expression, by putting "result" in place of the word "event."

I fear I weary you with these illustrations, and yet I feel that I have conveyed but a very imperfect impression of the liberties which Mr. Sparks has taken with the text of his author. There is probably no one letter from Washington to Reed, in the whole collection, that does not contain a greater number of alterations than all that I have enumerated, put together. Nearly every one has been abbreviated to an extent varying from one to three quarters of a page. The letters average over twenty variations each. I select one of the shortest as a specimen of the whole, and give it entire, that you may better judge how much of Washington remained in it after it had been Sparked. All the passages in brackets have been stricken out by Mr. Sparks, and all in italics have been interpolated. It will be observed that he begins by leaving out all the introductory part of the letter:

[CAMP] *Cambridge*, December 25th, 1775.

Dear Sir—[Since my last, your favours of the 7th and 11th are come to hand, as also the 8th; the first last night, the second by Wednesday's post; for the several pieces of information therein contained, I thank you. Nothing new has happened in this quarter since my last, except the setting in of a severe spell of cold weather, and considerable fall of snow, which, together, have interrupted our work on Letchmore's point, which, otherwise, would have been completed before this. At first we only intended a bomb battery there, but afterwards constructed two redoubts, in one of which a mortar will be placed at a proper season—a line of communication extends from the point of wood this side of the causey, leading on to Letchmore's point, quite up to the redoubt. From Boston and Bunker's Hill both, we have received (without injury, except from the first case shot,) an irregular fire, from cannon and mortars, ever since the 17th, but have returned none except upon the ships, which we soon obliged to move off.]

At the same time I thank you for stopping visitors in search of preferment, it will give me pleasure to show civilities to others of your recommendation. Indeed, no gentleman that is not well known, ought to come here without letters of introduction, as it puts me in an awkward situation with respect to my conduct towards them.

I do not very [well] *much* understand a paragraph in your letter, which seems to be taken from mine to Colonel Hancock, expressive of the unwillingness of the Connecticut troops to be deemed Continental. [If you did not misconcieve what Colonel Hancock read—he read what I never wrote, as] there is no expression in any of my letters that I can either recollect or find, that has a tendency that way, further than their unwillingness to have officers of other governments mixed in their corps, in which they are not singular, as the same partiality runs through the whole. I have, in some measure, anticipated the desires of the Connecticut Delegates, by a kind of representation to each of the New England governments of the impracticability [in my eye] of raising our compliment of men by voluntary enlistment, and submitting it to their consideration, whether, if the powers of government [were] *are* sufficiently coercive, each town should not be called upon for a [proportionable] *proportionate* number of recruits. What they will do in the matter, remains to be known. The militia [which] *who* have supplied the places of the Connecticut regiments, behave much better than I expected *they would* under our [wants] *want* of wood, barracks, [for they are not yet done,] *and* blankets, [&c.] With these *men*, and such [men] as are re-enlisted, I shall hope, if they will be vigilant and spirited, to give the enemy a warm reception, if they think proper to come out. Our want of powder is inconceivable—a daily waste, and no supply [administers] *present* a gloomy prospect.

I fear the [destination] *detention* of the vessels from your port is so generally known, as to defeat the end. Two men-of-war, [forty guns] it is said, put into New York the other day, and were [instantly] *immediately* ordered out, supposed [to be] for Virginia.

I am so much indebted for the civilities shown *to* Mrs. Washington on her journey hither, that I hardly know how to [go about to] acknowledge them. Some of the enclosed, (all of which I beg the favor of you to put in the post-office,) are directed to that end. I shall be obliged to you for presenting my thanks to the commanding officers of the two battalions of Philadelphia, for the [honors] *honor* done *to* her and me, as also to any others equally entitled. I very sincerely offer you the compliments of the season, and wish you, *and* Mrs. Reed, and your fireside, the happy return of a great many of them, being, dear sir,

Your [most obedient and affectionate humble servant, GEORGE WASHINGTON.]

In a few instances it is clear that Sparks has made corrections which Washington would have approved, but in most of the illustrations I have given, it is equally clear, that Washington has suffered in his editor's hands. I might feel inclined to trouble you with some proof upon the point, if I did not feel that it was merged in a graver question, which I leave with editors and reviewers to determine. It is for them to say whether it falls within the line of a historian's or a biographer's duty to alter or garble a historical document for any purpose whatever. I have omitted to state that Mr. Sparks does not accompany these letters with any notes indicating the changes and omissions he has made, but leaves the reader to suppose all the time that he is reading the letters of Washington.

I have not examined the original MS., in the offices of the Department at Washington, from whence Mr. Sparks obtained the mass of his letters, and am consequently not able to say whether he has taken the same freedom with those letters as with the Reed collection. I shall avail myself of the first opportunity to compare them, and will have pleasure in communicating the result to you.

Original Letter of Dr. Franklin.

[The following letter (says the *Chris. Register*) was written by Dr. Franklin to Alex. Giles Frohisher, with whom he corresponded for many years. It is beleived that it has never before been published, and it is certainly very interesting as giving a view of the spirit of benevolence and active usefulness by which Dr. Franklin was governed, and also of the general tendency of his religious opinions. We are greatly indebted to the friend who has allowed us to publish it.]

Philadelphia, June 6th, 1753.

Dear Sir:—I received your kind letter of the 2d instant, and am glad to hear you increase in strength—I hope you will continue mending till you recover your former health and firmness. Let me know whether you still use the cold bath, and what effect it has.

As to the kindness you mention I wish it could have been of more service to you, but if it had, the only thanks that I should desire is, that you would be equally ready to serve any other person that may need your assistance, and so let good offices go round, for mankind are all of a family.

For my own part when I am employed in serving others, I do not look upon myself as conferring favors, but as paying debts. In my travels, and since my settlement, I have received much kindness from men to whom I shall never have an opportunity to make the least direct return; and numberless mercies from God who is infinitely above being benefited by our services. Those kindnesses from men, I can only return on their fellow men: and I can only show my gratititude for these mercies from God by a readiness to help his other children and my brethren; for I do not think that thanks and compliments, though repeated meekly, can discharge our real obligations to each other, and much less those to our Creator.

You will in this see my notions of good works and that I am far from expecting Heaven by them. By Heaven we understand a state of happiness, infinite in degree and eternal in duration. I can do nothing to deserve such rewards. He that for giving a draught of water to a thirsty person should expect to be paid with a good plantation, would be modest in his demands, compared with those who think they deserve Heaven by the good they do on earth. Even the mixt, imperfect pleasures we enjoy in this world, are rather from God's goodness than our merit, how much more so then the felicity of Heaven? For my own part I have not the vanity to think I deserve it, the folly to expect, nor the ambition to desire it; but content myself in submitting to the will and disposal of Him that made me, who has hitherto preserved and blessed me, and in whose paternal goodness I may well confide, that he will never make me miserable, and that even the afflictions I may at any time suffer shall tend to my benefit. The faith you mention has doubtless it use in the world. I do not desire to see it diminished, nor would I lessen it in any man, but I wish it was more productive of good works, works of kindness, charity, mercy and public spirit; not holiday-keeping, sermon reading, or having performed church ceremonies, or making long prayers filled with flatteries and compliments, despised even by wise men, and much less capable of pleasing the Deity. The worship of God is a duty, the hearing or reading of sermons *may be* useful; but if a man rests in hearing or praying as too many do, it is as if a tree should value itself upon being watered and putting forth leaves, though it never produced any fruit.

Your great master thought much less of these outward appearances and professions than many of his modern disciples; he preferred the doers to the mere hearers; the son who seemingly refused to obey his father, and yet performed his commands, to him that professed his readiness and yet neglected the work; the heretical though charitable Samaritan, to the uncharitable though sanctified priest, and those who gave food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, raiment to the naked, entertainment to the stranger, and relief to the sick, though they never heard of His name, He declares shall be in the last day accepted, when those who cry Lord, Lord, who value themselves on their faith, though great enough to perform miracles, but have neglected to perform the works of benevolence, shall be rejected.

He professed he came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance, which implied his modest opinion, that there were some in his time so good that they needed not hear even him, but now-a-days we have scarce a person who does not think it the duty of every man within his reach to sit under his wretched ministrations, and that whoever omits them, offends God. I wish to such more humility, and to you, sir, more health and happines, being &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

From The People.

The Fear of Death.

A CHAPTER FROM THE LIFE OF A MAN.

ONE reason why I began to publish so early and why I have published so much was, that I never expected to live long. I got it into my head very early that I should die young. My eldest brother died young, and some one said we should all die young unless we were very careful, and the Methodist preachers that I used to hear preach were constantly talking about people dying young. And the religious books that I used to read dwelt a great deal on death and on the uncertainty of life. At one period I expected to die before I was twenty-one, and even after I had passed twenty-one, I never felt as if I had any certainty, or even ground, to hope that I should live to be thirty or forty. I felt as if it were probable that I should die in the course of a very few years; and I knew it was possible that I *might* die any day. I had, at the same time, a very great desire to publish my thoughts on certain subjects. I had, as I imagined, obtained some glimpses of truth, which would be calculated to be of some benefit to my friends, and of some service to the cause of religion and to the interests of humanity generally. I accordingly felt it my duty to embrace the first opportunity of publishing my thoughts. I felt as if I should be more prepared to die,—I felt as if I should be able both to live more comfortably while I did live, and die more comfortably when it came to be my lot to die, if I could only unburthen my mind, and do something for the cause of truth and righteousness. I therefore made haste, and delayed not, to put my thoughts on paper, and to send my papers to the press.

I have acted in this way almost all through life. I have always felt as if life were exceedingly uncertain, and as if it were altogether unlikely,—as if it were, in fact, too much to be hoped for, that I should live to any considerable age. I have, in consequence, always felt anxious to get through as much work as possible. Hence I have always read with eagerness, and done my utmost both to put my thoughts on paper, and to give my papers to the public, with as little loss of time as possible. Every time I have published a fresh tract or book, I have felt as if I had got through another portion of my work,—as if I had gained another advantage over death,—as if I could leave the world with less reluctance, and meet my end with more composure.

This is one great reason why many of my writings are, with respect to doctrinal matters, so inconsistent with each other. I began to publish before I had time to test my creed. I of course mixed up with what I wrote, a number of theological errors. *Many* of the things I wrote were true. The *substance* of *most* of the articles which I published was true. I busied myself chiefly in unfolding and inculcating great practical principles of temperance and purity, of justice and charity. The substance, therefore, of most of the articles which I published, I still regard as true. There is, however, in most of my early publications, mixed up with the truth, a number of errors.

I still feel the same fear of death,—the same excessive dread lest I should die before I have done my work, or before I have done for truth and righteousness all that it is my desire to do. The feeling may have abated, but it still remains in considerable force. I should still feel uneasy, if I were to keep long to myself anything that I regarded as important truth. I could not enjoy life, if I were not to declare my thoughts on all matters of importance as soon as possible.

I know that by acting on this principle I shall frequently publish things which I shall have to qualify after. But I think again, I shall be as well able to qualify my expressions, or to modify my thoughts, *after* I have published them, as *before*. If I keep my thoughts to myself, I may die and never be able to publish them at all: whereas if I publish them, I have at least done something, and what else remains to be done I shall be as likely to be able to do after publishing, as before. Besides, I have often observed, that I sooner discover the errors and imperfections of my productions after I have published them, than before. The mere thought that I am going to publish a work, frequently quickens my spiritual faculties,—excites them to more vigorous action in criticising it. The mere thought that I am going to lay my views before the public tends to make me more critical, and more careful to learn the truth.

I have further observed, that I never publish anything erroneous, extravagant, or doubtful, but some of my friends are ready to detect and expose it. I have always had the happiness and misery, the pleasure and the pain, the privilege and the trouble, to have friends who felt as if everything that was at all discreditable to myself, was discreditable to them,—as if they were responsible for all I did and for all I published. And those my troublesome and useful friends, have always been forward enough to complain when they have seen anything which they thought wrong, or to forward to me the complaints of others, even when they themselves have *not* seen anything wrong. These kind, these selfish, these sensitive and impatient friends,—these serviceable and troublesome readers and correspondents,—have never failed to urge me to explain this, or to qualify that: they have never failed to teaze me, till they have induced me either to give them up as intolerable friends, or to publish something in the shape of explanation, qualification, or demonstration. I am not, therefore, much disposed to lament the peculiar fear of death with which I have been all my life haunted. It has done me, I imagine, good, rather than evil.

I ought also to observe, that I always seem better able to discover fresh truth, after I have freely revealed to the world the truth which I had previously discovered. It has long seemed to me, that people render it impossible for them to discover fresh truth, when they keep to themselves for a long time great quantities of truth which they have previously discovered. The human mind seems to me to be like the spring at the bottom of a deep well: if you leave the water in the well, it will never overflow: the spring, oppressed by such a heavy mass of superincumbent water, will be unable to pour forth its liquid treasures. The consequence will be, the water, which otherwise would come springing up, will remain in its hidden places, deep in the earth; whereas when the water is rapidly drawn off, and distributed abroad, the pressure upon the spring is diminished; the spring, in consequence, continues to pour forth its treasures with freedom: the wants of the neighboring people are supplied, and the spring retains its force, and pours forth its waters with undiminished abundance, from generation to generation. If I had neglected to make known my discoveries of truth to others, I should not have discovered one half as much truth as I have discovered. My readiness to teach, has made me more quick to learn. My liberality in communicating, has increased my ability in acquiring. In instructing others I have instructed myself. In living rapidly, I have lived perhaps twice as long in a year as I otherwise should have done. In consequence of giving early, I have been enabled to give twice.

As for my reputation, I am not certain that I have not gained more in one way, than I have lost in another. If I have missed gaining a reputation for exactness, I have gained a reputation for freedom, for courage, for integrity, for fidelity. If I have rendered it impossible for my readers and friends to rely on my teachings with perfect confidence, I have obliged them to exercise their own judgments: and, by exercising their own judgments, many of them have acquired a strength of mind and a power of discrimination, which render it unnecessary for them to have any one as an authority to rely upon.

I may further observe, that this fear of death has influenced me in reference to other things as well as my publications. For many years I durst not take a journey, either by sea or land, or go into a pit or mine, or attempt to explore a cave, or climb a tree, a tower, or a steeple, or do anything that seemed to be at all dangerous, unless a sense of duty required me to do so. I felt that I had no right to risk my life in any way, unless duty required me to do so. I felt as if I had no right to do anything involving the least risk to my life, unless a regard to the interests of truth and righteousness required me to do it. Hence I never could go on a journey of pleasure, either by sea or land, and I I never could indulge my curiosity by going into a coal pit. I was frequently requested, when I lived in Northumberland and Durham, to go down and examine the coal mines; but I never durst do so. I have been frequently requested to go to different places with pleasure parties; but I never could feel free to comply with these requests.—Whenever I yielded to the entreaties of friends contrary to my own feelings, I felt miserable. I could go anywhere if I had anything important to do at the end of my journey. I could go with pleasure—I could *enjoy* my journey then, as well as any one. I had an idea that God would take care of me if I were going about my business; and I also felt that, even if I should meet with death in the discharge of my duty, I could die with something like comfort.—I have never travelled much, except in England; and I have hardly ever taken any journey, even in England, except for the purpose of preaching, lecturing, or doing something else which I considered to be a duty. Even to this day, if I go a journey for any other purpose than to lecture, or to do something else that I regard as a matter of duty, I travel in fear: I image to myself dangers and deaths.

But even in this respect, my fear of premature death may have been of use. It may, for anything I know, have saved me from death. And it has not altogether prevented me from travelling I have travelled up and down in England as much as most; and I have even seen more of the sea and of other countries than many people. And I have generally *enjoyed* my journeys exceedingly. True, I have seldom gone out of my way to see fine sights, to gaze on beautiful scenery, or to examine wonderful objects. I have, in consequence, missed many opportunities of seeing the birth places, the dwelling places, and the burial places of great and remarkable persons. But I have, notwithstanding, seen a great many interesting sights, and those which I have seen I have enjoyed exceedingly.

At present, however, I feel more at liberty than formerly. I should feel little or no hesitation now in going down into a coal mine, or exploring a lead mine, in penetrating a cave, or climbing a hill, or going a journey, or taking a voyage, though I had *not* any particular object to accomplish. I formerly did not feel at liberty to *play*, whereas I *now* feel as much liberty to play as I do to work. I should now think the gratification of my curiosity, the acquisition of a little knowledge of nature or of mankind, the diversion of my mind from its usual studies, the improvement of my health, or the gratification of my friends, a sufficient inducement for taking a journey, for going on a voyage, for penetrating a a cave, or descending a mine.

I am still, perhaps, as wishful to live as I ever was, and as wishful to do as much work while I live as I possibly can; but I now see things to be worth living for, that I formerly did not consider so: and I can feel easy in incurring risks for objects, for which I could not have incurred risks ten years ago.

From the (London) Weekly News

COTTON AND FLAX

MOST of our readers must have heard of the energetic attempts made by the great Busfield Ferrand, Esq., to extend the cultivation of flax in this country, in hope of superseding the cotton manufactories of Manchester, and of striking a death-blow at the interests of the great mill-owners, or, as Mr. Ferrand delights to call them, the accursed cotton-lords. In the south of England, Sir Charles Burrell and others have long been advocating, both by precept and example, the copious cultivation of flax. And in Norfolk, Mr. Warnes has been an active and successful patron of the same system. Altogether, the cultivation of flax, in this country, has largely increased, and is rapidly increasing. But what must be poor Mr. Ferrand's feelings when he finds that his darling flax, which was to be such a scourge to Manchester, is likely to prove its salvation? Such really bids fair to be the case; and, at any rate, the abundant supply of flax which now can be obtained at home, coupled with the mechanical improvements and inventions, to which we shall presently refer, must relieve the Manchester manufacturers from great anxiety and difficulty. They may become "Flax-lords" instead of "Cotton-lords," but the change of title will not affect their station, their wealth, or their power. But altough the competition of flax with cotton, in our textile fabrics, will not annihilate Messrs. Cobden and Bright, or any others of the special objects of the Ferrandian wrath, the subject is so important, and so many and so great interests are involved in it, that it well deserves a little serious consideration

The dependence of this country on the United States for the main supply of raw cotton for its manufactures has long been a matter of much uneasiness, not only to British capitalists and British statesmen, but to all who watch with care the means by which the great masses of our population are enabled to earn their daily bread. We quote on this part of our subject some of the statistics given in "Knight's Companion to the British Almanac:"—"Lancashire "now contains nearly two millions of souls, the Glas-"gow district contains seven hundred thousand; the "cotton manufacture is the chief source of industry "in both these districts, and Cheshire and York-"shire also contain their hundreds and thousands of "cotton-workers." Now, the United States send us four-fifths of the raw material which this immense population works on, and without which this immense population seem doomed to be thrown out of employ. Added to this, our yearly supply of cotton from other quarters has been steadily decreasing, and, in fact, America is substantially the source by which, and by which alone, our cotton manufactures can be kept in healthy activity.

Moreover it is only the Southern, that is to say the slave-holding portion of the United States, that supplies us. The cotton crop is the produce of slave labor. It follows that our cotton manufactures are dependent on slave labor. Mr. Bright once warned a Manchester audience of this and told them that the abolition of Slavery in America would inevitably be followed by the starvation of half Lancashire.—But this is not all. The cotton plant is exceedingly precarious in coming to perfection. A few nights' frost will nip the hopes of leagues of plantations.—The crop of the now closing year has been a bad one. "It has been estimated" (we quote from Knight's Almanac), "that the shortness of the crop of 1849 "and '50 will have increased by the sum of eight "millions the market price of the cotton bought and "used in England during 1850. This must neces-"sarily limit the market for the manufacturing "goods, as it unavoidably gives to them a higher "market price." Of course, by thus limiting the market it reduces the demand, and lessens the amount of productive labor required to satisfy that demand. Alarmed at this foretaste of what seemed to be a probable catastrophe, namely, a total failure of the cotton crop in the States, and a consequent total stoppage of our mills, the Manchester manufactures had been earnestly endeavoring to procure such an extended cultivation of the *best kind of cotton* in India, as should insure them another adequate source of supply. We say "*of the best kind of cotton*," because, as is well known, the kind of cotton ordinarily grown in India cannot be made available for the operations of our machinery.

The Manchester merchants have themselves despatched a scientific and commercial agent to India for this purpose. But in the meanwhile mechanical improvements have been effected at home, which will make our home supplies of flax available for the Manchester mills, and will, we trust, make the industry of our northern counties no longer dependent on the caprice of an American climate or the continuance of American Slavery.

We shall, perhaps, best make ourselves understood by reminding our readers of the difference between flax, as hitherto used for making linen, and cotton, before subjected to the operations of the mill. Flax, after cleaning, &c., presents a number of natural fibres, which are spun into yarn. The raw cotton is wholly different in texture and character to these, resembling a mass of wool; and the machinery of the cotton-mills, which aided by the factory operatives, spins a thread out of this cotton wool, is wholly inapplicable to the flax fibres. But the great discovery has been recently effected that, by certain mechanical processes, the flax fibres may be cut up, and torn, and reduced into a wolly mass, exactly like that of raw cotton. When this has been done, the Manchester mill and the Manchester operative can employ on the flax the very same processes which the accumulated skill of years has enabled them to employ upon the cotton; and out of the flax a thread can be produced superior to any yet produced from cotton, and convertible into a fabric better than any that cotton can yield.

The importance of this great scientific discovery is incalculable. The extent to which it ensures the welfare of our manufacturing interest, both as regards the capitalist and the operative, has already been pointed out. It is also obvious that it will open for the English agriculturist a new and liberal home-market for his flax, and that this new crop will be added to the customary product of his fields. We do not pause, at present, to advert to the more remote consequences of this discovery, important though they are, such, for instance, as the heavy discouragement which it will give to the prolongation of Slavery in America. For the present, we are content to deal with matters nearer to our own doors. When the English farmer's flax becomes the main supply of the English manufacturer's mill, a golden chain of union will be formed between the hitherto antagonistic interests. But there is one point which must not be omitted. We mean the incalculable benefit which such a demand for flax will confer upon Ireland. Even before this market for Irish flax was foreseen, the exertions of Irish patriots have been devoted to the extension of its cultivation. Before long, half the Irish soil will, in due rotation, bear crops of flax. In the present painful state of transition, through which Irish property is passing, in the present crisis of Irish industry, a greater blessing could not have been imagined for both Ireland and England—than that a staple product of Ireland should be ready for, and should find a ready welcome, in a staple English manufacture.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

A CLERICAL correspondent of the *Church and State Gazette* says that the following metaphorical epitaph is inscribed on a tombstone in Whitwich churchyard, Leicestershire:

"This world's a town of crooked streets,
And Death's the market place, where all men meets."

——THE FAMILY OF MITCHELL.—The wife and four children of John Mitchell, the Irish exile, left Liverpool on Thursday, in the "Condor." Seven boys from the Metropolitan Ragged Schools are passengers in the same vessel.

——PROFESSOR NEWMAN says, in a letter to an English newspaper, that it is a mathematical certainty that, if the existing population of the world were to increase for about eleven or twelve centuries at the same rate as the British population has done for some time past, no room would be left on the solid earth for men, women and children to stand upon, allowing only a square foot for each!

——THE *London Weekly News* remarks that "One of our American exchange papers has met with a misfortune in the printing of the outside page. We are told *inside*, to 'read the first line of the column and the thirty-fourth, next then after, continue down to and including the forty-eighth line; again commence up within one line of the top and pass to the forty-ninth, and thence to the fifty. After that, all is clear.' We have tried in vain to follow these directions; we were never in such a maze before."

——THE "*Edinburgh Review*" notices incidentally that one of the organs of the religious world, carrying out, with a singular consistency of logic, its habitual application of prophecy to contemporary facts, informed its readers, as part of the reports of the day on the Pope's flight from Rome, that "Anti-Christ was on board the Tenare."

——THE FRENCH MACHINE FOR TAKING VOTES.—This machine is now in use in the French Legislative Assembly. On the first occasion, although some time was lost from the members stopping to examine the machine, the votes of 659 representatives were taken in fourteen minutes. On subsequent occasions, the operation has taken at least two or three minutes less.

——THE FUGITIVE SLAVES FROM AMERICA.—Wm. Crafts, the fugitive slave whose history was given in our last Number, has been delivering a lecture in Edinburgh. He said that two years ago he was unable to read a syllable, and therefore he hoped the audience would excuse his rough speech; but unless the reporter for the *Edinburgh News* has afforded assistance, there was no necessity for the apology—the language being quite on a par with the popular oratory of our Mechanics' Institutions.—*London Inquirer*.

——MOUSE MILLS.—A gentleman in Kirkaldy, Scotland, has trained a couple of mice, and invented machinery, enabling them to spin cotton yarn. The work is so constructed that the common mouse is enabled to make atonement to society for past offences, by twisting twine, and reeling from 100 to 126 threads per day. To complete this, the little pedestrians have to run 10 1-2 miles. A halfpenny worth of oatmeal, at 1s 3d per peck, serves one of these treadwheel culprits for the long period of five weeks. In that time it makes 110 threads per day. At this rate a mouse earns 7s 6d per annum. Take off 5d for board, and 1s for machinery, there will arise 6s clear for every mouse annually. The mouse employer was going to make an application for the lease of an old empty house, which would hold 10,000 mouse mills, sufficient room being left for keepers and some hundreds of spectators.—*East Counties Herald*.

——THE London correspondent of the *Liverpool Albion*, in noticing Lady Morgan's recent pamphlet, says: "Lady Morgan is probably the oldest living writer who continues to write; for, though Miss Joanna Baillie is some five years and Rogers perhaps ten years her senior, neither of the latter has touched a pen in the way of authorship for a long time; whereas the miraculous Milesian, for all her blindness, has, for a good while back, been a regular contributor to one of our morning journals, in which, by the way, appeared the hint about the chair which has set her scribbling in this particular instance, wherein are displayed all her her old egotism and polyglot pretensions to Babel-tongued omniscience, with all her old Amazonian disregard of conventional squeamishness on topics of questionable delicacy, and, it must be confessed, with a good deal also of the vigor and subtlety which ever characterized her treatment of what she conceived to be humbug, whether sacred or profane."

——A MOTTO FOR THE EXHIBITION.—It is suggested in the *London Inquirer* that "just as in that sumptuous remain of Saracenic taste, the Alhambra of Granada, the favorite motto of the Mohammedan recurs in ten thousand varieties of forms and contrasts of color, so in our Exhibition, keeping in view in our building its purpose, builders, and countless strips of lines parallel to the horizontal plane, there should everywhere appear on perpendicular faces of ribs and stouter supports (embossed in sunk tablets like those of the Alhambra) the inscription stencilled in the characters of every known written language of nations, 'Glory to God in the highest, and in earth peace, goodwill toward men.'"

——PROPOSED FREE ADMISSION TO THE EXHIBITION.—Shall the admission to the building in Hyde Park be taxed by payment, or shall it be free? This question is asked by Mr. Paxton in a spirited letter to Lord J. Russell. Each mode has its difficulties; but, after an anxious consideration of the matter, it is his conviction that free entry will be at once more simply practicable and more in harmony with the enlarged and enlightened purpose of the Exhibition. There are 7000 exhibitors: these, surely, ought to have free entry: for the liquidation of the debt, admission for the first fortnight, and for every Wednesday in the week, should be by payment only; to meet the deficit, Mr. Paxton asks for a Parliamentary grant, making the request the more readily, as upwards of two millions will probably accrue to the revenue from the Exhibition. After advocating his proposition on the ground that "an event so pregnant with high and humanizing good to all mankind should be informed with the most liberal, with a purely cosmopolitan spirit," Mr. Paxton states that already in France and Germany, the idea of payment (for foreigners are especially accustomed to gratuitous entry into all national buildings) has been canvassed in a spirit "which, as an Englishman, I feel to be a reproach to my country." But it is not for the stranger alone that he asks for free admission:

"I ask it for the large body of our own working classes; for those men whose skill, whose industry, will, I doubt not, be triumphantly represented at the forthcoming Congress of Labor. Thousands of these men—the sinews of the land—are at this hour depriving themselves of many little household comforts to enable them to visit London; and the inevitable cost of such a visit should not be increased by a further tax. Therefore, I ask for the working-men of England a free entry into the structure dedicated to the world's industry, free as the light that pervades it. Again, such will be the magnitude of the Exhibition, that no one, two, or three visits will suffice to the knowledge of its manifold objects. This will be made sufficiently obvious, when it is known, that to make merely the circuit of the tables will be to make a journey of no less than twenty miles. Hence, with paid admission, the visitor will be tempted to spend a day, when otherwise he would at various visits occupy but a few hours. There would, in the gratuitous admission, be a flowing stream of people, if I may use the figure; whereas, with exacted payment, visitors will become fixtures from morning till night."

The *Times* is first in the field with a thoroughly characteristic objection: "If the mob," it says, "are to have possession of the building five days out of six, and if they attend in the numbers we expect, they are likely to have it to themselves; and all the better sort of visitors, ready to pay their shilling, and able to turn the Exhibition to the best account, will be put to a serious inconvenience." The only decision with respect to the amount of payment and regulation for admission which has yet been arrived at by the Commissioners, is that of fixing the minimum charge of admission at 1s.—*Weekly News*.

——DEATH AND BURIAL OF GENERAL BEM.—A correspondent of the *Daily News* gives some interesting particulars relative to the death of this unfortunate soldier. His frame was weakened by wounds and hardships, and a low fever peculiar to the locality in which he was stationed speedily carried him off. "As we went to visit him, his body lay extended on a bier, and several persons were engaged in washing and dressing the corpse, while mollahs were praying around. The washings ended, the body was wound in a sheet and placed in a coffin, at the foot of which hung his fez. A colored shawl was spread over the coffin. A military interment is a thing unknown in Turkey; however, on this occasion, Kerim Pasha, the commandant, the French and English consuls, many officers, and an immense crowd of soldiers, assembled. We carried him to the door, and would have gone further to his place of rest, but Turkish etiquette forbade. Strong divisions of military were posted on the line of procession, many of the soldiers of which pressed forward to carry the coffin: even old Kerim Pasha would insist upon bearing a hand. Arrived at the grave, the body was taken out of the coffin and deposited in a grave five or six feet deep, the head lying towards Mecca."

——MR. CHARLES MATHEWS ON METHUSALEM!—In a letter to the *Morning Post*, Mr. Mathews, a dramatic writer, and manager of a theatre, refers to the immense quantity of epistolatory matter with which managers of theatres are inundated, comprising solemn suggestions, artistic advice, histrionic hints, dramatic directions, or critiques on costume. A gentleman from King's College, Cambridge, has written to him, complaining that the name of the aged man which is spelt "Methusal*em*" in the farce just referred to, was "Methusel*ah*." Mr. Mathews begs to differ from this "erudite moonshee," and fortifies his position in the mode of a learned Professor. The name, he says, is spelt in various and dissimilar ways. "The single authority extant for 'Methuselah' occurs in the Chaldaic version; but the Chaldaic being in a Shemetic dialect, a sort of congener of the Hebrew and the Syriac, the authority is singularly hypothetical. The commentators—Rashi, Gomora, the Talmud, the Mishna, and the Council of the Beth Dim—all agree in spelling the name 'Methusal*em*;' and if more modern authorities are required to prove my position, I would refer to the learned Polander, Rabbi Schmule Lock Baumer, and to the very reverend and erudite Chief Rabbi of the Jews of Great Britain, Doctor Adler. It is strange that the name spelt 'Methus*alem*' occurs in the Shezdar of Brama, and in the Ti Kong of the Chinese Confutzee, a copy of which is in my possession, and to which 'Screwtator' of Kgs. Col. Cam. is most welcome to refer." Though he (Mr. Mathews) would very willingly submit to any correction in matters of taste, he does not think that "connected so closely as I have been for some years past with the Jews," his erudition in such matters should be lightly called in question.